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The motets of Henricus Isaac (c.1450-1517) : transmission, structure and function.

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**THE MOTETS OF HENRICUS ISAAC (c.1450-1517):
TRANSMISSION, STRUCTURE
AND FUNCTION**

Volume 1

A thesis submitted for the degree of

PhD

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by

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Abstract

Manuscript and printed sources attribute over 50 motets to Henricus Isaac (c.1450-1517). This study focuses on the transmission, structure and function of Isaac's work in this genre. It begins by considering the implications of recent manuscript research on the dating and attributions of Isaac's motets. Several motets that have been incorrectly attributed to Isaac are newly-identified and the attributions of those motets classified as dubia by Martin Just are also reconsidered. Over half of Isaac's motets are settings of liturgical chant. The study analyses cantus firmus treatment in Isaac's chant settings. New chant sources are identified for three antiphons set by Isaac including the Marian antiphon 'Ave sanctissima Maria'. The influence of both local liturgical traditions and specific polyphonic repertoires on Isaac's work is explored through comparison of the melodic versions of chant Isaac sets with contemporary chant sources as well as with contemporary polyphonic settings. The tempo relationship between tempus perfectum (O) and tempus imperfectum diminutum (♢) in Isaac's motets is also studied. Comparison of the mensural organisation of motets in which perfect and imperfect time mensurations occur simultaneously with the mensural organisation of works in which the two mensurations appear successively highlights changes in the tempo relationship between O and ♢. This study prompted a comparative analysis of the mensural organisation of Isaac's through-composed masses. Here, the interpretation of average note values as time series data is explored and new thoughts are offered on the correlation between tempo and rhythmic movement. Finally, the functions of Isaac's motets are considered. Specific contexts in which Isaac's

motets were performed may be established through analysis of both their texts and transmission. It can be shown that Isaac's motets functioned as liturgical polyphony, as 'chapel music' and as musical propaganda. The study ends with an exploration of motets that may have originated from commissions.

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Introduction

Isaac's achievements as a musician were far-reaching. His well-documented career included periods of employment at Innsbruck, Florence and Vienna where he worked for some of the leading political figures of the age.¹ In Innsbruck, in 1484, he was rewarded as "componist" by Hans Fuchsmagen, Chancellor to Duke Sigismund of Austria.² In Florence, as a member of the singers of San Giovanni, he was paid as both singer and composer from July 1485 until the end of March 1493.³ Frank D'Accone's research has shown that this group of musicians was patronised by Florence's leading citizen Lorenzo de' Medici, in whose musical household Isaac was "the unique ornament".⁴ In 1496/7 Isaac was engaged as Hofkomponist by Maximilian I in whose chapel he directed as choirboys Ludwig Senfl and Adam Rener. Returning to Florence by 1512, Isaac enjoyed the patronage of Pope Leo X who, in 1514, took a personal interest in securing a pension for the composer's retirement.⁵

Isaac was a prolific composer. Indeed, a contemporary account of the respective merits as composers of Isaac and Josquin des Prez, describes Isaac as one who "composes new works more often" while Josquin composes "when he wants to and not when one wants him to".⁶ Contemporary musicians recognised Isaac's talent. In musical treatises his name is listed time and again amongst the leading

¹ A brief overview of Isaac's biography is given in Picker, *A Guide to Research*, 3-18 and also by Lerner in the introduction to *Coralis Constantini, primus tomus: Heinrich Isaac*; see also Staehelin, *Die Messen*, Vol. II.

² Staehelin, *Die Messen*, II:19.

³ For Isaac's biography in Florence see D'Accone, 'A Documentary History of Music'; D'Accone, 'The Singers of San Giovanni'; D'Accone, 'Heinrich Isaac in Florence'.

⁴ D'Accone, 'Heinrich Isaac in Florence', 466.

⁵ *ibid.*, 472-4; Staehelin, *Die Messen*, II 75-9.

⁶ Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, 204-05

composers of the age. In his Practica musicae published in 1496, Franchinus Gaffurius describes Isaac together with “Jusquin despret, Gaspar, Alexander Agricola, Loyset, Obrech [and] Brumel” as “jocundissimi compositores” (“most delightful composers”),⁷ while Pietro Aaron, in De institutione harmonica (1516), names Isaac with Josquin, Obrecht and Agricola as the greatest of the modern composers.⁸ In 1514, Isaac is described by the Prior of the Papal Chapel, Niccolo de Pitti, as “cantore et compositore singularissimo”.⁹

Isaac’s achievements as a motet composer are equally distinctive. Over 50 motets are attributed to this composer in a variety of widely disseminated sources.¹⁰ The popularity of his motet compositions is reflected in their extensive distribution. They are preserved in manuscript and printed sources, in tablatures and theoretical sources which are scattered throughout Europe and date from the end of the 15th to the late 16th centuries. The Swiss theorist Heinrich Glarean included several of Isaac’s motets as musical examples in his treatise Dodecachordon (1547).¹¹ Isaac’s motets appear to have been composed throughout his career and display a correspondingly rich diversity of styles. There are motets which belong to the Netherlands tradition, those that are Italianate in style and others which conform to the German motet style, exemplified above all in his Proper settings.

⁷ Gaffurius, Practica musicae, 144, see also Staehelin, Die Messen, II:91.

⁸ Staehelin, Die Messen, II:95-6.

⁹ Staehelin Die Messen 2.76-8; see also D’Accone: ‘Heinrich Isaac in Florence’, 473-4

¹⁰ Lists of all of Isaac’s motets are included in Appendix III; see also Picker, A Guide, 85-98.

¹¹ Glarean, Dodecachordon, I 187, II:254, 263, 334-40, 427-32

In recent times, Isaac's motets have received less attention than they deserve. Martin Just's dissertation remains the fundamental study.¹² Since its completion in 1960, little new research has been published in this field. Isaac's motets have been discussed as part of more wide-ranging studies such as those of: Willem Elders (1968) and (1994); Wolfgang Osthoff (1969); Albert Dunning (1970); and more recently Ludwig Finscher (1989-90); and Reinhard Strohm (1993); while several articles offer important contributions on individual works, see for example: Allan Atlas (1974) and (1975); Richard Taruskin (1976); Anthony Cummings (1981); and Just (1991). Sara Funkhouser's dissertation (1981) discusses number symbolism in Isaac's motets and, most recently, Martin Picker (1994) discusses works by Isaac transmitted in the Segovia codex. Studies which explore the musical life of the institutions with which Isaac was connected also provide valuable background material, see for example: Louise Cuyler (1973); Walter Salmen (1992); and Piero Gargiulo (1993).

The recent publication of Picker's A Guide to Research (1991) provides an invaluable resource for Isaac research. In particular, it updates to a considerable extent the source evidence concerning Isaac's motets. Another important contribution to Isaac research will be the proceedings from the international conference on the music of Isaac and Paul Hofhaimer held in Innsbruck in July 1992. However, this volume was not available at the time this study was completed.¹³

¹² Just, 'Studien zu Heinrich Isaacs Motetten'.

¹³ This volume has now been published. See Salmen and Gstrein, Heinrich Isaac und Paul Hofhaimer

Several related studies are also important. The most significant is Martin Staehelin's three-volume study of Isaac's masses (1977) which not only offers analyses of all of Isaac's mass compositions but also provides detailed discussion of a large number of biographical sources. Gerhard Pätzig's study of the Choralis constantinus (1956) remains significant and has been supplemented recently by articles by Philip Gossett (1974) and Theodore Karp (1990) as well as by the publication in facsimile of all three volumes of the Choralis constantinus (Peer, 1990-94). Finally, Just's extensive studies of the manuscript Berlin 40021 also have significant bearing on this study (1962, 1975, 1981).¹⁴

There is no complete edition of Isaac's motets. Many of his motets are, however, available in editions of individual manuscripts such as the Apel codex, Leipzig 1494 (EDM 32-34), the Leopold codex, Munich 3154 (EDM 80-83); and the manuscript Berlin 40021 (EDM 76-78) as well as in editions of publications by, for example, Georg Rhau. Appendix I of this study offers editions of seven motets by Isaac.

This study focuses on the transmission, structure and function of Isaac's motets. It is not a comprehensive study of all of Isaac's motets from all angles. Through consideration of these essential aspects of Isaac's work, I hope to achieve a balance between, on the one hand, understanding the motets as musical structures, through analysis of, for example, cantus firmus treatment and tempo relationships, and, on the other, examining his work in its proper context, by

¹⁴

See also EDM 76-78

exploring, for example, the influence of local liturgical traditions on the chant versions Isaac sets and the different contexts in which his motets were performed. The following paragraphs outline the scope of this study.

Chapter one examines the sources and attributions of Isaac's motets. Just's dissertation is the only study to date which has examined this aspect of Isaac's motets. Since his study was completed much new information on many of the sources in which Isaac's motets are transmitted has been uncovered. Many new sources have also been identified. A review of the sources and attributions of Isaac's motets therefore seems timely. Chapter one of this study opens with a summary of recent research on three important manuscript sources of Isaac's motets and assesses its implications for the dating and provenance of Isaac's work. The attributions of Isaac's motets are also considered here. Several works which have been incorrectly attributed to our composer are newly identified. Motets with doubtful attributions and those considered spurious are also examined. Finally, this chapter re-examines those works classified as dubia by Just. In light of recent source research, several motets considered dubia by Just may now be safely ascribed to our composer.

Chapter two studies cantus firmus treatment in Isaac's chant settings. In these works the chant provides both the cantus firmus and text. Through detailed analysis of the manner in which the chant cantus firmus is presented in each work different types of cantus firmus treatment may be identified.

In chapter three, new chant sources are identified for three antiphons set by Isaac including the Marian antiphon 'Ave sanctissima Maria'. The influence of both local liturgical traditions and specific polyphonic repertoires on Isaac's work is explored through comparison of the melodic versions of chant Isaac sets with contemporary chant sources as well as with contemporary polyphonic settings. Multiple settings of the same chant by Isaac also allow comparative analysis of melodic versions of the same chant in separate compositions by a single composer.

The tempo relationship between tempus perfectum (O) and tempus imperfectum diminutum (♢) in Isaac's motets is examined in chapter four. Comparison of the mensural organisation of motets in which perfect and imperfect time mensurations occur simultaneously with the mensural organisation of works in which the two mensurations appear successively highlight changes in the tempo relationship between O and ♢. This study prompted a comparative analysis of the mensural organisation of Isaac's through-composed mass cycles. Chapter five explores the interpretation of average note values as time series data in eight masses by Isaac and offers new thoughts on the correlation between tempo and rhythmic movement.

Finally, in chapter six, the functions of Isaac's motets are considered. Specific contexts in which Isaac's motets were performed may be established through careful analysis of their texts and transmission. Manuscript sources indicate that Isaac's motets functioned as liturgical polyphony and as 'chapel music'. Several

of Isaac's motets were composed to celebrate political leaders or state events. These works served as musical propaganda. The chapter ends with an exploration of works that may have originated from commissions. The study suggests that stipulations imposed by commissions may have included, where appropriate, the use of specific versions of chant.

A general overview of Isaac's motet composition seems appropriate at this point and comprises the remainder of this introductory chapter. Isaac's motets fall broadly into four types: (i) settings of liturgical chant in which the chant provides both the text and cantus firmus of the work; (ii) tenor motets which are characterised by a borrowed tenor cantus firmus; (iii) free motets which have no structural cantus firmus and set a variety of types of texts; and (iv) instrumental-type motets which are characterised by instrumental-like idioms.

(i) Chant settings: The majority of Isaac's motets are chant settings. Indeed, polyphonic settings of chant form a significant part of Isaac's work generally. Not least, of course, are the three volumes of Mass Proper settings which comprise the Choralis constantinus, the second volume of which was commissioned by Constance Cathedral in April 1508.¹⁵ Taken together, the three volumes provide polyphonic settings of mass proper items - introits, alleluias, sequences and communions - for all the major feasts and Sundays of the church year.¹⁶ For the Habsburg court chapel, Isaac composed at least 20

¹⁵ A facsimile of the commission is published in Pätzig, 'Liturgische Grundlagen', I:16; Pätzig, 'Heinrich Isaacs "Choralis constantinus"', 115; Finscher, Die Musik, 2:429.

¹⁶ For editions of this work see DTO 10, DTO 32, Isaac CCIII and CuylerF. Facsimiles of all three books of the Choralis constantinus are published, with an introduction by Lerner, in the Facsimile Series for Musicians and Scholars (Peer, 1990-94).

alternatim Mass cycles. These masses, composed over plainsongs, alternate polyphonic vocal sections with polyphonic sections played on the organ.¹⁷ Isaac's propensity for plainchant settings attracted the praise of contemporary musicians. The Swiss theorist, Heinrich Glarean writes

He embellished church song especially; namely, he had seen a majesty and natural strength in it which surpasses by far the themes invented in our time.¹⁸

Liturgical genres represented in the chant settings considered here include antiphons, responsories, sequences, hymns and psalms and are composed, with few exceptions, for four voices. In contrast to the Choralis constantinus which was composed in the last decade of the composer's life, the (predominantly) Office chant settings probably span Isaac's entire creative career and consequently offer valuable insight into the variety of this musical form.

Table one lists the chants set by Isaac according to chant type. The table also lists at least one chant source for each chant and quotes the chant's liturgical designation as given in that source. The primary chant source consulted is the Antiphonale Pataviense, printed in Vienna by Johann Winterburger in 1519.¹⁹ This source may reflect the liturgical rite followed by the Habsburg court chapel. Details of this and other chant sources consulted in this study are listed in chapter three.²⁰

¹⁷ W.P. Mahrt: 'The Missae ad Organum of Heinrich Isaac' (diss., Stanford U, 1969); see also Strohm, The Rise of European Music, 519, 532.

¹⁸ Glarean, Dodecachordon, 2 278

¹⁹ A facsimile of this chant source is published in EDM 88.

²⁰ See 173-7.

Table one: Chants set polyphonically by Isaac

Antiphons	Chant source
Alma redemptoris mater	de veneratione beate marie virginis <u>AP 272'-273</u>
Anima mea liquefacta est	in nativitate sancte marie virginis <u>AP 205-205'</u>
Argentum et aurum	in fest SS Petri et Pauli apostolorum <u>AP 159'-160</u>
Ave regina celorum	in annuntiatione beate virginis <u>Augs LVI</u>
Ave sanctissima Maria	de beate virgine <u>Nur 1509 CXXII-CXXII'</u>
Cum esset desponsata mater	in vigilia nativitatis Domini <u>AP 9</u>
Ecce sacerdos magnus	de confessore et Pontifice <u>AP 265'</u>
Gaude, Dei genitrix	in festo assumptionis beate marie virginis Neumarkt Cantionale fol. 132
Regina caeli laetare	suffragium de beate virgine marie <u>AP 62'-63</u>
Salve regina	Dominica ad completorium <u>AR 68-69</u>
	De Virginibus <u>Nur 1550 148-150</u>
Sancta Maria Virgo	in nativitate Sancte Marie Virginis <u>AP 204'</u>
Tota pulchra es	in nativitate Sancte Marie Virginis <u>AP 205'</u>
Tristitia vestra vertatur	Dominica III post Pascha <u>AR 475</u>
Veni sancte spiritus	in festo Pentecoste <u>AP 120</u>
Virgo prudentissima (a4)	in festo assumptionis beate marie virginis <u>AP 192'-193</u>

Table 1 (cont'd)**Responsories**

Accessit ad pedes Jesu	in festo Sancta Marie Magdalene	<u>AP 172</u> ; <u>Nur 1509 XC-XC'</u> (with prosula)
Discubuit Jesus	in festo Corporis Christi	<u>Nur 1509 LI</u>
Judea et Jerusalem	in vigilia nativitatis Domini	<u>AP 8'-9</u> ; <u>Nur 1509 VII'-VIII</u> (with prosula)
Quae est ista	in festo assumptionis beate marie virginis	<u>AP 192-192'</u> ; <u>Nur 1509 XCVII</u> (with prosula)
Verbum caro factum est	in festo nativitatis Domini	<u>AP 13-13'</u>

Cantiones

Christus surrexit	Dominica Resurrectionis	Bäumker No. 242
Dies est laetitiae	in nativitate Domini	Bäumker No. 43

Hymns

Defensor noster aspice	Vs. 5 of Hymn "Christe qui lux es"	Stäblein 270
------------------------	------------------------------------	--------------

Te mane laudum carmine	Vs. 2 of Hymn "O lux beata Trinitas" in festo SS Trinitatis	Stäblein 211
------------------------	--	--------------

Table 1 (cont'd)

Lamentations

Oratio Jeremiah

Lection III, Ad Matutinum, Sabbato Sancto

Sequence

Inviolata, integra et casta

de beate marie virgine

AR 133***Offertory**

Recordare Jesus

“Recordare virgo mater”

GP 172

de veneratione beate marie virgins

Psalms

Quid retribuam Domino

In convertendo Dominus

Unidentified cantus firmi

Hodie deus homo factus

Hodie deus homo factus

Parce Domine populo tuo

Ista est speciosa

O Maria mater Christi

Sub tuum praesidium

Fragments

As table one shows, antiphon settings comprise the majority of Isaac's chant settings. The abundance of Marian antiphon settings reflects the popularity of Marian devotion in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. These works include some of the most elaborate and sophisticated of all of Isaac's motets, see, for example, Ave sanctissima Maria and Regina caeli laetare.

Isaac's chant settings include five responsory settings. One work, Discubuit Jesus, survives in an incomplete form only. Editions of three works - Verbum caro factum est, Quae est ista and Judea et Jerusalem - are included in Appendix I. All of Isaac's responsory settings adhere to the formal scheme A B C B where a repetition of the second (Repetitio) section completes the performance of the motet. Inge-Maria Schröder outlines a detailed history of the responsory form in her study of the responsory settings of Balthasar Resinarius, a pupil of Isaac.²¹ Responsory settings by composers such as Isaac, Resinarius, Ludwig Senfl and Thomas Stoltzer, in which the musical structure is defined by the three sections of the responsory form - Corpus, Repetitio and Versus - are considered formally retrospective in comparison to works by Netherlandish contemporaries such as Adrian Willaert in which the structure of the chant is superimposed by the development of the motet form. Willaert's responsory settings are in two sections marked prima and secunda pars (first section: corpus and repetitio; second section: versus and repetitio).

²¹ Schröder, Die Responsorienvertonungen des Balthasar Resinarius, 51; see also Böker-Heil, 'Die Motetten von Philippe Verdelot', 76-81; Just 'Studien' I 130.

Isaac's chant settings also include settings of hymns, cantiones, psalms, as well as a setting of the Lamentations of Jeremiah. Also included here is a five-voice setting of the sequence "Inviolata, integra et casta" as well as a contrafact setting of the offertory "Recordare Virgo mater". This work survives in its unique printed source, Neuber's Cantiones triginta selectissimae of 1568 (RISM 1568⁷), with a Protestant text "Recordare Jesu Christe". Both works are considered motets by Just.²²

Several works which set chant texts set unidentified cantus firmi. The four-part motet O Maria, mater Christi, for example, is a setting of the Marian sequence text but the cantus firmus in this work remains unidentified.²³ The four-voice motet Sub tuum praesidium is transmitted in its unique source, the organ tablature St Gall 530, with text incipit only and also sets an unidentified cantus firmus.²⁴ A cantus firmus similar to that set in Isaac's Parce domine populo appears in the bassus voice of Obrecht's motet of the same name.²⁵ This too has not been identified. Several works including Hodie deus homo factus²⁶ and Ista est speciosa²⁷ survive in fragmentary form only.

(ii) Tenor motets: The tenor motet is the motet form associated above all with occasional, ceremonial pieces. Tenor motets are characterised by a borrowed tenor cantus firmus with a text that is different, but often related, to the main

²² See Just, 'Studien', I:105-7.

²³ CW 100:17-27; see also Just, 'Studien', I:128-9.

²⁴ SMd 8:188-9; DTO 32:229-30; see also Just, 'Studien', I 114-15

²⁵ An edition of Isaac's work is published in Rhau 3:159-60, an edition of Obrecht's work is published in ObrechtW 6:95-6 and ObrechtW 7:79-80; see also Just, 'Studien': I:108.

²⁶ Staehelin, Die Messen, II:118-19, see also Just, 'Studien', I 185-6

²⁷ Just, 'Studien', I 186.

text, increased vocal textures, bipartite structure and mensuration sequence O-♩. Textual references indicate the occasions for which two of Isaac's tenor motets were probably composed. The six-voice tenor motet Virgo prudentissima may have been composed c.1507 as Maximilian I laid plans for his coronation as Holy Roman Emperor.²⁸ Reference is made in the second section of the main text to both "Caesaro Maximiliano" and to "Georgius", the latter being identified as Georg Slatkonia (1456-1522), Maximilian's Kapellmeister. Optime divino/ Da pacem/ Sacerdos et pontifex, also for six voices, is a slightly later work composed to celebrate the meeting in December 1513 of Cardinal Matthäus Lang, Maximilian's Chancellor, with the newly elected Pope Leo X.²⁹ In the main text (poet unknown) the singers of the Imperial chapel pay homage to the Pope.

Two tenor motets probably date from earlier in Isaac's career. Manuscript sources for the five-voice motet O decus ecclesiae³⁰ include Berlin 40021 and Leipzig 1494 while Angeli archangeli/ Comme femme desconfortée,³¹ for six voices, is transmitted in several manuscripts including the Chigi codex (compiled ca. 1498-1503).³² The occasions for which these works were composed are not known. Just also considers a tenor motet the five-voice work Hodie scietis quia veniet.³³ This work sets an unidentified cantus firmus in the tenor voice. It

²⁸ DavisonVP; Cuyler, The Emperor, 194-224; further editions listed in Appendix III; see also Dunning, Die Staatsmotette, 39-45; Just, 'Studien', I:88-95; Picker, 'The Habsburg Courts in the Netherlands and Austria', 234-45.

²⁹ CW 120:1-22; see also Dunning, Die Staatsmotette, 45-53; Just, 'Studien', I:95-6.

³⁰ EDM 33:155-62; see also Just, 'Studien', I:87-8.

³¹ EDM 34:369-78 (O regina); see also Just, 'Studien', I:96-7.

³² Kellman, 'The Origins of the Chigi Codex'.

³³ Just, 'Studien', I:97-8.

survives in both its sources, the manuscript Modena IV and Petrucci's Motetti a cinque libro primo of 1508 (RISM 1508¹), as a single section work in tempus perfectum, features which perhaps speak against its consideration as a tenor motet.

(iii) Free motets: Many of Isaac's motets are freely composed or make only partial use of a cantus firmus. These works set a variety of types of text including compilations of sacred texts and occasional poetic texts. The absence of any structural cantus firmus gives additional prominence to the text setting. Dates of composition of several works are established through textual references.

Perhaps the most famous of all of Isaac's motets are the two laments on the death of Lorenzo de' Medici (d. 8 April 1492), Quis dabit pacem and Quis dabit capiti meo. The first work is freely composed.³⁴ The first twelve lines of text are taken from Seneca's tragedy Hercules Oetaeus with the final lines added by an unknown hand. Quis dabit capiti meo employs an ostinato motto, the final phrase of the antiphon "Salva nos", which permeates the entire piece.³⁵ This work sets a text by the humanist poet Angelo Poliziano (1454-94), and divides musically into four sections. Research has shown that Isaac borrows three of the four sections of the work from various sections of his Missa Salva nos, simply setting new text to old music.³⁶ The third section only is newly composed.

³⁴ DTO 28:49-52; see also Just, 'Studien', I:153-57.

³⁵ DTO 28:45-48 and GreenbergA, 268-76; see also Just, 'Studien', I:161-65

³⁶ Atlas, 'A Note'; Staehelin, 'Communication'; Atlas, 'Communication'; Taruskin, 'Settling an Old Score'; Strohm, The Rise, 636-7

The two-part motet Sancti spiritus assit was composed for the Reichstag at Constance in 1507.³⁷ Reference is made at the opening of the work to the text and melody of the same-named sequence and the motet text refers directly to Maximilian I. The three-voice motet Quid retribuam tibi, Leo, is a later work, composed certainly after 1513.³⁸ The text of the first part of the motet gives thanks to Pope Leo X while the second comprises a setting of the antiphon “Argentum et aurum”. Although the work divides musically into two parts which are marked with a change in mensuration from O-♩, there is no other formal division between the two sections. The absence of a structural cantus firmus precludes the consideration of this work as a tenor motet.

Another work which may have been composed while Isaac was in Florence is the three-part motet Prophetarum maxime, which sets a compilation of sacred texts including several for the feast of St John the Baptist, patron saint of Florence.³⁹ Similar stylistically is the two-part motet Salve virgo sanctissima.⁴⁰ The text of this work borrows elements from the antiphon text “Salve regina misericordiae”. The three-part motet Ave ancilla trinitatis sets another Marian text which is found in many contemporary Books of Hours.⁴¹ Nil prosunt lacrimae is a short lament for four voices which survives uniquely in Georg Rhau’s Symphoniae

³⁷ DTO 28:53-8; see also Dunning, Die Staatsmotette, 37-9; Just, ‘Studien’, I:157-9; Kindermann, ‘Die doppelten und mehrfachen Textierungen’.

³⁸ Rhau 9:76-8; see also Dunning, Die Staatsmotette, 47 n 3; Just, ‘Studien’, I:180-81; Staehelin, Die Messen, II:79-80.

³⁹ An edition of this work is included in Roberts, ‘The Music of Ludwig Senfl’, 2:406-16 and in SMD 8:296-9; see also Just, ‘Studien’, I:149-50.

⁴⁰ An edition of this work is published in my Masters thesis, ‘The Early Life and Works of Heinrich Isaac (c. 1450-1517)’ (thesis, U. of London, 1992), i-xii; see also Just, ‘Studien’, I:159.

⁴¹ SMD 8:282-5; see also Just, ‘Studien’, I:150-51 and Cummings, ‘Bemerkungen zu Isaacs Motette’.

Jucundae of 1538 (RISM 1538⁸).⁴² Martin Picker notes that the work preceding Isaac's in this source, "Musica, quid defles?", is an anonymous lament on the death of Alexander Agricola (d. 1506) and suggests that Isaac's motet may be associated with the same event.⁴³ Finally, the three-voice motet Illumina oculos meos is in two sections and sets a compilation of psalm texts.⁴⁴

(iv) Instrumental-type motets: Isaac's motets include several works which may be considered instrumental-type works. These works are usually transmitted without text or with textual incipit only. They are composed without cantus firmus and are characterised by busy contrapuntal textures in which chains of sequences, imitation and repetition predominate.⁴⁵ Isaac's motet La mi la sol is referred to in a famous letter sent by the Ferrarese agent Gian to Ercole, Duke of Ferrara, on 2 September 1502.⁴⁶ Gian mentions that Isaac, while staying in Ferrara, composed a motet over the "fantasia La mi la sol la sol la mi". The motet is based on an ostinato indicated by the solmisation syllables. It survives in both a textless form and with a perhaps inauthentic text "Rogamus te, piissima virgo". Isaac later used the motet as a model for his Missa O praeclara.⁴⁷ Two works for three voices, Gratias refero tibi⁴⁸ and Gentile spiritus,⁴⁹ are transmitted

⁴² Just, 'Studien', I:110-13.

⁴³ Picker, A Guide, 119.

⁴⁴ Rhau 9:46-54; see also Just, 'Studien', I:152.

⁴⁵ See Brown, A Florentine Chansonier, I:140-42.

⁴⁶ Lockwood, Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 204-05; see also Strohm, The Rise of European Music, 639; editions of the work are published in DTO 28:87-9 and SMC 2:199-206.

⁴⁷ Elders, 'Zur Frage der Vorlage'.

⁴⁸ Baker, 'An Unnumbered Manuscript', 2:949-56; see also Just, 'Studien', I:184.

⁴⁹ Baker, 'An Unnumbered Manuscript', 2:984-89; see also Just, 'Studien', I:184-85.

uniquely in the Segovia codex with textual incipit only while Ave regina caelorum, for four voices, is also transmitted with the text “Sive vivamus”.⁵⁰

⁵⁰

An edition of this work is included in Appendix I; see also Just, ‘Studien’, I:178-79.

Chapter 1

Isaac's motets: sources and attributions

Introduction

Over 50 motets are attributed to Isaac in a variety of widely-disseminated sources. They are preserved in manuscripts and printed sources, tablatures and theoretical treatises which are scattered throughout Europe and date from the end of the 15th to the late 16th centuries. While the acknowledged loss of sources has left an incomplete picture of the full distribution of Isaac's motets, their extant transmission reflects both their popularity (the six-voice tenor motet Virgo prudentissima, for example, is transmitted in no less than ten sources), as well as, occasionally, Isaac's career history. A handful of motets, for example, are preserved uniquely in Habsburg chapel sources, while others are transmitted exclusively in Italian sources.

Martin Just's dissertation is the only study to date which examines in depth the sources and transmission of Isaac's motets.¹ It includes an overview of all the sources known to the author in which Isaac's motets appear (chapter A) and also examines the transmission of each work (chapter B). The final chapter reviews the authenticity and dating of Isaac's motets (chapter E). More recently, lists of Isaac's works have been published by Martin Staehelin² and Martin Picker.³ This last resource, in particular, has up-dated to a considerable extent the source picture of Isaac's motets. Since Just's study was completed, much new

¹ Just, 'Studien zu Heinrich Isaacs Motetten'.

² Staehelin, 'Isaac, Heinrich', Grove6

³ Picker, Henricus Isaac a Guide to Research

information on many of the sources in which Isaac's motets are transmitted has been uncovered. Many new sources have also been identified. This new research has a bearing on two important aspects of Isaac research considered here. Firstly, new information concerning the dating and provenance of manuscript sources has important implications for the music they transmit. The first part of this study summarises recent research on three manuscripts - Munich 3154, Berlin 40021 and Regensburg C.120 - which are significant sources for Isaac's motets. Secondly, new source information illuminates, in many cases, questions concerning composer attributions. The second part of this study comprises a detailed examination of the attribution of Isaac's motets. It identifies motets which have been incorrectly attributed to our composer, motets which have doubtful attributions, as well as a handful of motets which, despite not being attributed to Isaac in the sources, have been ascribed to our composer by modern musicologists. The study ends with a re-examination of those motets which are clearly attributed to Isaac in the sources but which, on the basis of transmission and compositional style, are considered doubtful by Just.

Manuscript studies

Munich 3154

Within the field of manuscript studies, analysis of papertypes and watermarks has enabled musicologists to date, with remarkable precision, many important early manuscript sources. Thomas Noblitt's study of the manuscript Munich 3154, the so-called 'Leopold codex', comprises a detailed examination of the manuscript's fascicle structure and watermarks on the basis of which he is able

to date the entire codex.⁴ He proposes astonishingly early dates for works not only by Isaac but also Josquin des Prez, Johannes Martini and Alexander Agricola.⁵ Noblitt suggests that three motets by Isaac transmitted in this source - Argentum et aurum, Ecce sacerdos magnus, and Inviolata, integra et casta - are copied onto paper which dates from c.1476. This is an exceptionally early date for Isaac, predating the earliest extant archival reference to the composer (1484) by some eight years.⁶ The following paragraphs summarise Noblitt's research.

The Leopold codex is one of the most extensive manuscripts of its time. It comprises 472 pages and 48 fascicles, has 45 different watermarks and was copied by 42 scribes. It was compiled over a period of approximately 40 years from c. 1466/69 to c. 1511. Its name derives from the inscription "Magistri nicolai leopoldi ex insprugga" which appears three times in the codex (fol 264, 370 and 444). Archival references place Magister Nicolaus Leopold in Innsbruck at the end of the 15th century.⁷ Noblitt suggests that Leopold was the owner of, at the least, the fascicles which contain his name (fasc. 27, 37 and 47).⁸

The first 17 fascicles of the manuscript (fol 1r-171v) were copied, with few exceptions, by one scribe, Noblitt's scribe A. This scribe is considered the manuscript's principal scribe being responsible for the copying of approximately

⁴ Noblitt, 'Die Datierung der Handschrift Mus. ms. 3154'; see also Noblitt, 'Das Chorbuch des Nikolaus Leopold' and EDM 80-83.

⁵ Noblitt, 'Die Datierung', esp. 48-9.

⁶ Staehelin, Die Messen, II.19.

⁷ Noblitt, 'Das Chorbuch des Nikolaus Leopold', 170.

⁸ Noblitt, 'Die Datierung', 48.

one third of the codex. It is within this first section of the manuscript that Isaac's motets are copied. They appear together, in a group, at the end of fascicle seven: Argentum et aurum fol 72'-73; Ecce sacerdos magnus fol 73'-74; Inviolata, integra et casta fol 74'. Only a fragment of this last motet has survived, the remainder having evidently being copied in the following, now lost, fascicle.

Taking the date of the paper's watermarks as his starting point, Noblitt outlines in detail the structure and dating of the first 17 fascicles of the manuscript.⁹ To summarise briefly: Noblitt argues that between ca.1466-69 scribe A copied fascicle one and most of fascicle two. A considerable change in the scribe's handwriting indicates that some time passed before he copied fascicle three (watermark date 1469/70). Another pause is noted after the copying of the first part of fascicle three (and probably the preceding, now lost, fascicle). Fascicle three is linked with fascicle four (watermark date 1471/74) by Busnois' motet In hydraulis which begins at the end of fascicle three and continues into fascicle four. The scribe must therefore have completed fascicle three before beginning fascicle four. Another slight change in handwriting begins at the end of fascicle three. The scribe also copied two pieces in this new hand on unused paper at the end of fascicle two. In 1476 the scribe completed fascicle four which is linked with fascicle five as well as with a large number of further fascicles: fascicles 5-7; a lost fascicle which originally formed a unit with our fascicle 7; and fascicles 14-17. Noblitt argues that these later fascicles (14-17) were copied at the same time as fascicles 5-7 and were subsequently re-ordered by the compiler of the

⁹ ibid., 46.

manuscript who arranged the codex by genre rather than by date.¹⁰ All these fascicles (excluding fascicles four and fifteen) exhibit the same watermark, number six, which is dated 1476. At about the same time, the scribe copied two pieces in fascicle eight and probably a part of fascicle nine. Around 1482, scribe A continued his work and completed fascicle nine as well as fascicles 10, 12 and 13. Two different hands are also seen in these first few fascicles. In fascicle eight, folios 75 and 84 were copied by scribe C (watermark date 1482/83) and fascicle eleven was copied by scribe E (watermark date 1484/85). The manuscript's remaining fascicles were copied by a large number of scribes working between c.1487/89 and c.1511.

The chronological ordering of the manuscript's first seven fascicles is especially noteworthy as is the frequency with which fascicles in the first part of the manuscript are connected by works which begin in one fascicle and continue into the next (see fascicles: 1-2; 3-4; 4-5; 5-6; 6-7; 7-lost; 9-10; 14-15; 15-16), a feature which supports the overall chronological sequence. In the second part of the manuscript this type of occurrence is noticeably less frequent. In the remaining 20 fascicles only six are connected in this way, the majority of fascicles being independent of their neighbours.

Noblitt deals briefly with the pertinent problem of time delay between the paper's watermark date and the date of its actual use. He cites Gerhard Piccard's view that paper, at this time a precious and expensive commodity, was normally used

¹⁰ ibid., 45.

within a period of three to four years after its production and was rarely stored for any longer.¹¹ In summary, Noblitt's dating of the manuscript Munich 3154 appears convincing. In particular, the position of the three Isaac motets at the end of fascicle seven, within a great sweep of watermark six paper and apparently not having been re-ordered, supports their 1476 date. If these works had been copied at a later date, their appearance at precisely this point in the manuscript would seem remarkably fortuitous.

An early date of composition for these motets is further supported by their transmission in contemporary and related sources (see table 1.1). In addition to Munich 3154, the antiphon setting Argentum et aurum is also transmitted anonymously in two contemporary manuscripts: Leipzig 1494, the so-called Apel codex, a manuscript compiled before 1504, the year in which it was bound, as well as in the music fragments Linz 529 which probably originated at Innsbruck c.1490-92.¹² The antiphon setting Ecce sacerdos magnus is transmitted exclusively in contemporary, central European sources. The work appears with contrafactum text, "Ecce dilectus meus", in both Leipzig 1494 and Berlin 40021. The motet is copied in the fifth layer of this last manuscript which Just dates c.1485-88/90.¹³ The sequence setting Inviolata, integra et casta is transmitted in Munich 3154 and in one other printed source, Petrucci's Motetti a cinque libro primo of 1508 (RISM 1508¹). This set of partbooks has survived incompletely,

¹¹ *ibid.*, 40.

¹² Strohm, 'Native and Foreign Polyphony'; see also Strohm, The Rise of European Music, 521, 523.

¹³ Just, *Der Mensuralkodex*, II 20

Table 1.1

	Source	Date
Argentum et aurum	Munich 3154	c.1476
	Leipzig 1494 (textless; anon)	before 1504 ¹⁴
	Linz 529 (anon)	c.1490-92 ¹⁵
	Tabl: Berlin 40026 (anon)	1520-24 ¹⁶
	Tabl: Zurich S.284a (Jo. Buch[ner])	c. 1530 ¹⁷
Ecce sacerdos magnus	Munich 3154 (anon)	c. 1476
	Leipzig 1494 (Ecce dilectus meus)	before 1504
	Berlin 40021 (Ecce dilectus meus; anon)	c.1485-88/90 ¹⁸
Inviolata integra et casta	Munich 3154 (lacks A2, B: anon)	c. 1476
	<u>Motetti a cinque libro primo</u> (O Petrucci: Venice) [RISM 1508 ¹] (lacks A2)	1508

¹⁴ EDM 32 p.v-vi

¹⁵ Stroh, 'Native and Foreign Polyphony', 229-30.

¹⁶ EDM 91:v.

¹⁷ EDM 55; see also Picker, A Guide, 165 and Staehelin, Die Messen, I:xlvi

¹⁸ Just, Der Mensuralkodex, II 20

the second altus part book is lost. Both sources therefore transmit an incomplete version of the work.

Berlin 40021

Martin Just's extensive studies of the manuscript Berlin 40021 provide detailed analysis of both the manuscript (watermarks, papertypes) and the music it transmits.¹⁹ The manuscript was compiled towards the end of the 15th century in a German-speaking region. It comprises 295 pages and divides into 25 layers with 25 different paper types. It was copied by 18 scribes: eight scribes (A-H) were responsible for copying the main corpus of the manuscript; seven scribes (J-P) are identified on a series of fascicles that were added to the manuscript; and two scribes (X and Y) made annotations throughout the manuscript. Scribe X is identified by Just as the compiler and first owner of the manuscript and scribe Y as the manuscript's second owner. The manuscript transmits 151, mostly three and four-voice works including masses, motets, magnificat settings, hymns and sequences. Composers represented in the manuscript include Adam von Fulda, Alexander Agricola, Heinrich Finck, Henricus Isaac, Paul Hofhaimer, Josquin des Prez and Antoine Busnois. It also transmits a large number of unica including compositions by Josquin, Agricola and Fulda. It is closely related in size, date and repertory to three other central European manuscripts: Munich 3154; Leipzig 1494 and Warsaw 2016.²⁰ Just believes that, similar to both the

¹⁹ Just, *Der Mensuralkodex*; EDM 76-78, see also Just, 'Bemerkungen zu den kleinen Folio-Handschriften' and Just, 'Ysaac de manu sua'.

²⁰ Just, 'Bemerkungen zu den kleinen Folio-Handschriften'

Apel codex and the Leopold codex, Berlin 40021 was compiled as a private collection of music.

The manuscript has particular significance for Isaac research. Amongst the fascicles that were added to the manuscript are three compositions headed “Ysaac de manu sua”. Just has shown that these pages were originally letters sent to scribe Y who inserted them into the manuscript sometime after c.1498.²¹ Just argues that only two of the three pieces are Isaac autographs, the sequence setting Sanctissimae virginis votiva festa (Nr. 144 fol. 255v-256v) and the four-voice Lied In Gottes namen (Nr. 150 fol. 150).²²

The manuscript is amongst the earliest of surviving sources for Isaac's work. Table 1.2 lists the compositions by Isaac transmitted in this source and their concordances. The manuscript transmits four of Isaac's motets. It is probably the earliest extant source for both of Isaac's "Salve regina" settings as well as for the five-voice tenor motet Vocum modulatio.²³ Also transmitted here is the four-voice setting of the antiphon “Ecce sacerdos magnus” which appears in this source, and in the manuscript Leipzig 1494, with contrafact text “Ecce dilectus meus”. All four motets were copied by scribe A (with minor annotations by scribe X and Y) and they all appear in the oldest layers of the manuscript. Salve

²¹ Just, ‘Ysaac de manu sua’ and EDM 76:p.vii-xiii ; see also Owens, ‘An Isaac Autograph’.

²² A facsimile of In Gottes namen is published in the preface to DTO 28.

²³ I call Salve regina I the work in five sections with monorhythmic cantus firmus transmitted in Basel F.IX.55, Berlin 40021 and Warsaw 2016 (no. 79 in EDM 77); I call Salve regina II the work in 10 sections, the complete version of which is transmitted in Berlin 40021, Dresden 1/D/505, Segovia, Stuttgart 39, Warsaw 2016 (no. 32 in EDM 76); I call Salve regina III the work in three sections transmitted in Berlin 40021 and Rome VatCS 15 (see doubtful motets; no. 41 in EDM 76); I call Salve regina IV the setting attributed to Ar.Fer. in the manuscript Munich 3154 (see spurious motets)

Table 1.2: Compositions by Isaac in Berlin 40021 and their concordant sources

Isaac	Concordances
Missa Una musque de Buscaya	Verona 756; Zerbst (A only; anon); RISM 1541 ¹ (Confiteor lacking); Kyrie: Basle F.VI.26a (S only; anon)
Missa Et trop penser	Crucifixus: Leipzig 1494
Ecce dilectus meus	Leipzig 1494; Munich 3154 (anon; "Ecce sacerdos magnus")
Salve regina II (No. 32)	Dresden 1/D/505; Warsaw 2016 (anon); Segovia; Stuttgart 39 (anon, "Salve rex misericordiae") "Ad te clamamus" only: Bologna Q18 (anon; "Thysis"); Florence B.R.229 (textless); Florence Panc.27 (anon, "Alleluya"); Paris 676 (anon, "Gratis accepistis")
Missa Quant j'ay au cuer	Warsaw 2016 (lacking Agnus dei); Jena 31 (anon); Milan 2 (Gloria, Credo and Sanctus only); Rome VatCS 35; Segovia; Vienna 11883 (anon, lacking Agnus dei); RISM 1506 Misse Izac ²⁴
Salve regina I (No. 79)	Basel F.IX.55; Warsaw 2016 (anon)
Vocum modulatio	Leipzig 1494 (O decus ecclesiae); RISM 1508 ¹ (O decus ecclesiae)
Allahoy	MunichU 328-331 (anon); Vienna 18810 (la la hö hö)
Sanctissimae virginis votiva festa	Dresden 1/D/506 (anon); Jena 33 (anon)
In Gottes Namen ²⁵	Regensburg C.120 (anon); MunichU 328-331 (anon); St Gall 530; Dresden 1/D/506 (only D/B agree)

²⁴

See Picker, *A Guide*, 28 for transmission of individual mass movements.

²⁵

Incerta include: Adieu fillette (No. 10); Regali, quem decet laude (No. 17); Ave amator casti (No. 23)

regina I (no. 79) appears in the 15th layer of the manuscript which Just dates c.1492-95,²⁶ while Salve regina II (no. 32) is copied in layer seven (f.69-72v) dated c.1492-95.²⁷ The tenor motet Vocum modulatio is copied in layer sixteen (f.180v-182+180a^v) dated c.1491-95.²⁸ An earlier source for the motet Ecce dilectus meus is probably the manuscript Munich 3154 (discussed above). The work is copied in the fifth layer of the manuscript Berlin 40021 on to paper which Just dates c.1485-88/90.²⁹

The exclusive transmission of both Ecce sacerdos magnus and Salve regina I in contemporary manuscripts of central European provenance leads to speculation concerning Isaac's, as yet unknown, whereabouts prior to his presence in Innsbruck in 1484. Both works exhibit many features characteristic of contemporary central European musical practice, most notably the presentation of the chant melody in notes of equal value. Reinhard Strohm describes this monorhythmic cantus firmus style as "a hallmark of German plainsong settings".³⁰ Similarities between Isaac's Argentum et aurum and two other motets transmitted in the Apel codex (nos. 104 and 106) have also been noted by several authors.³¹ Strohm asks

But if Isaac was not yet present in the area how could he have invented such an ingenious, logical development of the German monorhythmic style?³²

²⁶ Just, Der Mensuralkodex, II:29

²⁷ ibid, II 22.

²⁸ ibid, II:30.

²⁹ ibid, II.20.

³⁰ Strohm, The Rise, 526.

³¹ Just, 'Studien', I:102-3; Strohm, The Rise, 526.

³² Strohm, The Rise, 526.

Regensburg C.120

The manuscript Regensburg C.120, the so-called ‘Pernner codex’ is an important source for Isaac's work both in terms of repertoire and provenance.³³ It has been the subject of a recent study by Rainer Birkendorf, who explores the origins and provenance of the manuscript through a detailed comparison of scribal and source concordances.³⁴

The Pernner codex is a manuscript in choirbook format which consists of 171 pages and transmits both sacred and secular music including motets, mass pieces, German Lieder and chansons. The two best-represented composers in the manuscript are Ludwig Senfl and Henricus Isaac, both of whom were employed in the chapel of Maximilian I. The manuscript comprises two originally independent sections (section I: nos 1-38; section II: nos 39-99). Birkendorf argues that the first section was copied in Innsbruck for the chapel of Maximilian I between 1518-1519 by chapel member Lucas Wagenrieder and that the second section was copied, again by Wagenrieder, between 1520-21 in Augsburg following the dissolution of the Imperial chapel.³⁵ The manuscript is closely related to several other south-German sources, not least the bassus voice book Rome Vat. 11953, which Birkendorf believes was also copied for the Imperial chapel (see below) and the printed collection of motets, edited by Ludwig Senfl, Liber selectarum cantionum (RISM 1520⁴).³⁶

³³ This source is not included in Just, ‘Studien’.

³⁴ Birkendorf, Der Codex Pernner, see also Krautwurst, ‘Pernner-Kodex’, MGG1; an inventory of the manuscript is published in Haberkamp, Bischofliche Zentralbibliothek, I:312-8.

³⁵ Birkendorf's arguments are summarised in Der Codex Pernner, I 265-7.

³⁶ Concordant sources are discussed in ibid, I 88-153

The manuscript's name derives from an entry found at the beginning of the source.

Petrus perenner est meus possessor. - Meinem besunndren gueten
frannt peter perenner gehört das gesangpuech zu seinen Hanndenn.

Pernner is not, however, believed to be the manuscript's original owner. Rather, Birkendorf suggests that the organist Paul Hofhaimer may have been the manuscript's first owner. Between 1518-21 Hofhaimer was organist at the Fugger family chapel in the church of St Anna in Augsburg where Birkendorf argues the manuscript may have been bound.³⁷ The Pernner referred to in the manuscript's dedication is cautiously identified by Birkendorf as Peter Pernner, an Augsburg merchant whose name appears in Augsburg city archives in 1583 and who died in 1603.³⁸

The manuscript transmits fourteen compositions by Isaac including four works - two chansons and two motets - which are unique to this source (see table 1.3). The antiphon settings Gaude, Dei genitrix and Sancta Maria virgo are not discussed by Just but are mentioned by Birkendorf.³⁹ Both works appear in the second section of the manuscript: Sancta Maria Virgo is copied on folios 180-81 and Gaude, Dei genitrix on folios 260-63.⁴⁰ Isaac's four-voice motet O Maria mater Christi is also transmitted in this source. I suggest that the composition of

³⁷ *ibid.*, I:179-82.

³⁸ *ibid.*, I:50-57.

³⁹ See *ibid.*, I:243-4 and I:227-8 respectively. Birkendorf fails to recognise the cantus firmus on which the motet Gaude, Dei genitrix is based. See this study 122-25 and 196-208 for further discussion of this work.

⁴⁰ Editions of both works are included in Appendix I.

Table 1.3: Compositions by Isaac in Regensburg C.120 and their concordant sources

Isaac	Concordances
Missa Comment peult avoir joie (Sanctus only; incomplete; anon)	Milan 3; Quoniam: Vienna 18832 (S, A only)
O Maria mater Christi	<u>Liber selectarum cantionum quas vulgo mutetas appellant</u> (ed.) L Senfl (Augsburg: Grimm & Wyrung) (RISM 1520 ⁴); Tabl: Hans Gerle <u>Tabulatur auf die Laudten</u> Nuremberg: H Formschneider (RISM 1533 ₁)
Gaude Dei genitrix	-
Sancta Maria Virgo	-
Pour vous plaisiers	MunichU 328-31 (Parcere prostratis; altus lacking; anon)
J'ay pris amours	Bologna Q18 (anon); O Petrucci <u>Canti C no. cento cinquanta</u> Venice (RISM 1504 ³)
An buos	-
Et qui la dira	Bologna Q18 (anon); Brussels 11239; Florence 107bis (anon); Rome Vat. 11953 (B only); St Gall 461; RISM 1501 (anon); Tabl.: St Gall 530
Ain frelich wesen	-
In meinem sinn	Basel F.X.5-9 (A lacking); MunichU 328-31 (anon); Wittenberg 403 (T only, anon); Tabl.: Berlin 40026; St Gall 530
In meinem sinn	Basel F.X.5-9 (A lacking); MunichU 328-31 (anon); Wittenberg 403 (T only, anon) RISM [c.1535] ¹⁴ (S only, anon); Tabl.: St Gall 530
In Gottes namen (a4)	Berlin 40021; MunichU 328-31 (A lacking, anon); Tabl.: St Gall 530
Suesser vater	MunichU 328-31 (T only, anon)
Suesser vater	MunichU 328-31 (T only, anon); Tabl.: Berlin 40026 (2 versions); St Gall 530 (Die zehen Gbot, anon)

all three motets may be safely assigned to Isaac's period of employment in the Habsburg chapel.

The attributions of Isaac's motets

Manuscript and printed sources attribute over 50 motets to Isaac. The status of these attributions is examined in detail by Just in the final chapter of his dissertation (Chapter E).⁴¹ He questions the status of three groups of motets: he classifies as errata those motets that are wrongly attributed to Isaac ("irrtümlich Isaac zugeschriebene Motetten");⁴² motets which have unclear or conflicting attributions in the sources are considered incerta ("Motetten, bei denen die Zuweisung in der Quelle unklar ist oder bei denen sich gleichwertige Zuweisungen widersprechen");⁴³ while finally, a large group of motets are classified by Just as dubia. These works are clearly attributed to Isaac in the sources but their attribution to our composer is questioned by Just on the basis of their compositional technique ("Motetten, deren Satzbild, entgegen der Quelle, Isaacs Autorschaft widerspricht").⁴⁴ Table 1.4 lists all three groups of works. Table 1.5 lists those motets classified "doubtful and misattributed" by Martin Staehelin.⁴⁵ This list includes many motets attributed to Isaac in the sources, but which have been classified as dubia by Just. Picker includes those works considered dubia by Just in his list of motets of either certain or probable

⁴¹ Just, 'Studien', I 203-12.

⁴² ibid., 203.

⁴³ ibid.

⁴⁴ ibid.

⁴⁵ Staehelin, 'Isaac, Heinrich', Grove6

authenticity and notes Just's reservations concerning their authenticity.⁴⁶ Table 1.6 lists those motets that are considered doubtful and spurious by Picker.

⁴⁶Picker, A Guide, 95-7.

Table 1.4

(a) Motets considered errata by Just

Erubescat Judaeus	(not in Staehelin)
In pace in idipsum	(not in Staehelin)
Regnum mundi ⁴⁷	(not in Staehelin or Picker)
Si dedero	(not in Staehelin)
Spiritus domini replevit	(not in Staehelin)
Virgo prudentissima (a4)	(not in Staehelin)

(b) Motets considered incerta by Just

Salve regina IV (Ar.fer.)	
Salve regina III	(accepted by Picker)
Tulerunt Dominum meum	
Ortus de caelo	(not in Staehelin)
Si dormiero	(not in Staehelin)

(c) Motets considered dubia by Just

Deo Patri sit gloria ⁴⁸	
Dies est laetitiae	(accepted by Picker)
Discubuit Jesus	(accepted by Picker)
Fortuna desperata - Sancte Petre ⁴⁹	
Gentile spiritus	(accepted by Picker)
Illumina oculos meos	(accepted by Picker)
Ista est speciosa	(accepted by Picker)
Quid retribuam tibi, Leo	(accepted by Picker and Staehelin)
Salve Virgo sanctissima	(accepted by Picker)
Veni sancte spiritus	(accepted by Picker)
Verbum caro factum est	(accepted by Picker)

⁴⁷ This three-voice work is transmitted uniquely in the manuscript Regensburg B.216-219. It was erroneously ascribed to Isaac by Mohr in his inventory of the manuscript (Die Handschrift B.211-215, 23). The ascription "H. Isaac" found in the manuscript belongs, as Kade points out, to the following piece Illumina oculos meos (see Kade, August Wilhelm Ambros, v, p. xxi); see also Just, 'Studien', I:35. The work will not be considered here.

⁴⁸ This work follows, without attribution, Isaac's hymn setting Te mane laudum carmine in the printed source Vesperarum precum officia (Wittenberg: G Rhau) [RISM 1540⁵]. The two works are strophes two and three of the hymn "O lux beata Trinitas". Although only strophe two "Te mane laudum carmine" is attributed to Isaac in the printed source, Just cautiously suggests that the third strophe may also be by Isaac (see Just "Studien" I:118-119). However, concordant sources, not known to Just, attribute the work to Thomas Stoltzer. The work is not included by either Staehelin or Picker and will not be considered here.

⁴⁹ Picker classifies this work as a combinative secular work. It will not be considered here.

Table 1.5: Staehelin: Doubtful and misattributed motets (Grove6)

Dies est laeticiae	
Discubuit Jesus	
Fortuna desperata/Sancte Petre ⁵⁰	
Gentile spiritus	
Illumina oculos meos	
Ista est speciosa	
Nisi tu Dominus	(not in Just)
Salve regina III	
Salve regina IV (Ar.Fer.)	
Salve virgo sanctissima	
Tulerunt Dominum meum	
Veni sancte spiritus	
Verbum caro factum est	

Table 1.6**(a) Picker: Doubtful Motets**

Nisi tu Domine	(not in Just)
O sacrum convivium	(not in Just)
Ortus de caelo	
Qui paraclitus diceris	(accepted by Just)
Salve regina IV (Ar.Fer.)	
Si dormiero	
Virgo prudentissima (a4)	

(b) Picker: Spurious Motets

Erubescat Judaeus
In pace in idipsum
Si Dederò
Spiritus Domini replevit
Tulerunt dominum meum

⁵⁰

See footnote 35.

Since Just's study, much new research has been undertaken on many of the sources in which Isaac's motets are transmitted. Many new sources have also been identified. Table 1.7 lists those sources not included in Just's study.

A review of the attributions of Isaac's motets therefore seems timely. The following discussion distinguishes between:

- (i) motets that are incorrectly attributed to Isaac in contemporary sources. These works are transmitted with conflicting attributions (normally to Isaac and one other composer) and, in each case, it is possible to determine that the attribution to Isaac is incorrect.
- (ii) motets with doubtful attributions. These works are transmitted with conflicting attributions in the sources. In these cases, it is not possible to determine conclusively the correctness or not of the Isaac attributions.
- (iii) motets which have been attributed to Isaac by modern-day musicologists despite not being ascribed to Isaac in contemporary sources. These motets are classified as spurious.

The final section of this study re-considers the attributions of those motets classified as dubia by Just. In the light of new source research, many of these works may now be safely attributed to Isaac.

Table 1.7: Sources not included in Martin Just's dissertation together with the Isaac motets they transmit

Tabl: Berlin 40026

Argentum et aurum (anon)

Budapest Pr.3

Veni sancte spiritus

Verbum caro factum est

Buffalo A3

Virgo prudentissima (a6) (S only, frag; anon)

Copenhagen 1872

Virgo prudentissima (a6) (anon)

Dresden 1/D/505

Alma redemptoris mater (anon)

Sancti spiritus assit (Imperii proceres) (anon)

Judea et Jerusalem (Obrecht)

Quae est ista (anon)

Salve regina II (H. Isack)

Dresden 59

Judea et Jerusalem (A, T only; anon)

Florence Panc.27 - (Just has this source but doesn't notice this piece)

Salve regina II (Alleluya; anon)

Heidelberg 318 (titles only)

Accessit ad pedes (.H. Ysaac)

Ave sanctissima Maria (Ysaac)

Credidi propter (H. Ysaac)

Discubuit Jesus (Isaac)

Homo quidam fecit (Ysaac)

Judea et Jerusalem (.H. ysaac)

O Maria mater (ysaac)

Optime divino (ysaac)

Prophetarum maxime (ysaac)

Virga Jesse (Isaac)

Virgo prudentissima (a6) (ysaac)

Hradec 17

Quae est ista (anon)

Rogamus te (textless; anon)

Verbum caro factum est (anon)

Table 1.7 (cont'd)

Hradec 21

Anima mea liquefacta est (anon)

Illumina oculos meos (anon)

In convertendo dominus (anon)

Iserlohn F.124

Illumina oculos meos (B lacking anon)

Leiden 1442

Benedic anima mea Domino (anon)

Illumina oculos meos (Quis dabit pacem; anon)

Leipzig 49/50

Accessit ad pedes (anon)

Leipzig 51

Judea et Jerusalem (T B only; anon)

Linz 529

Argentum et aurum (anon)

Modena IV

Hodie scietis quia veniet (anon)

Regensburg C.120

Gaude dei genitrix (Ysaac)

O Maria mater Christi (anon)

Sancta Maria (virgo) (H. Ysaac)

Rome Vat. 11953 (Just has this source but doesn't notice this piece)

Sive vivamus (Ave regina anon)

Utrecht Hecht

In convertendo dominus (S only, anon)

WroclawU 428

Anima mea liquefacta est (anon)

Tabl: Zurick S.284a

Argentum et aurum (Jo. Buch[ner])

Zwickau XCIV, 1

Judea et Jerusalem (anon)

Table 1.7 (cont'd)**Prints**RISM [1560]¹

Illumina oculos meos (anon)

Tristitia vestra vertatur

Tabl: RISM 1533₁

O Maria mater Christi

Theorist: 1592 Zacconi

Optime Divino

RISM 1544²⁵

Tristitia vestra vertatur (anon)

RISM 1568²³

Tristitia vestra vertatur (Tristitia obsedit me; anon)

RISM 1556³²

Tristitia vestra vertatur (anon)

Tabl: RISM 1589¹⁷

Virgo prudentissima (a6)



Motets incorrectly attributed to Isaac

I consider nine motets to be incorrectly attributed to Isaac.

1. Spiritus sanctus in te

The six-voice antiphon setting Spiritus sanctus in te is attributed to Isaac in the printed source Thesauri musici tomus tertius continens cantiones sacras, quas vulgo motetas vocant ... sex vocum (J Montanus & U Neuber) of 1564 (RISM 1564³) and in the manuscript Munich 1536 (dtd 1583).⁵¹ Much of this manuscript is copied from printed sources, including RISM 1564³. The version of the motet Spiritus sanctus in te in the manuscript is therefore a direct copy from the printed source.⁵² The motet is also transmitted without attribution in the manuscript Rome Vat. 11953 (bassus voice book only).⁵³ These are the only sources known to Just and Picker.

One further manuscript source for this motet has recently been identified by Rainer Birkendorf. The work is transmitted in the Pernner codex attributed to Ludwig Senfl.⁵⁴ As we have seen, Birkendorf believes that the first section of the Pernner codex, in which the motet appears, was copied for the chapel of Maximilian I in Innsbruck between 1518-19. Birkendorf's study shows that the Pernner codex and the manuscript Rome Vat. 11953 are closely related sources.⁵⁵ They share a high number of concordances as well as a common

⁵¹ An edition of this work is included in Appendix I.

⁵² An inventory of Munich 1536 is published in Göllner, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 2.101-21; see also Census-Catalogue.

⁵³ An inventory of this source is published in Bridgman, Manuscripts de musique, 419-21.

⁵⁴ Birkendorf, Der Codex Pernner, I 223-4

⁵⁵ ibid., I:101-04.

scribe (Lucas Wagenrieder). Moreover, the transmission of Senfl's motets is identical in both sources. Birkendorf argues that the bassus voice book was also copied for Maximilian's chapel and dates it a little earlier than the first section of the Pernner codex, ca. 1516/17.⁵⁶

However, Birkendorf casts doubt on the attribution of the motet Spiritus sanctus in te to Senfl in the Pernner codex.

An seiner Autorschaft könnte insofern gezweifelt werden, als der Cantus firmus zwar mit dem Antiphonale Romanum gute Übereinstimmung zeigt, eine vergleichbare chorale Melodie für die Diözese Passau jedoch bisher nicht ermittelt werden konnte.⁵⁷

While the antiphon melody does not, indeed, appear in the Passau liturgy - as reflected in the printed source Antiphonale Pataviense (1518) - it does, however, appear in an antiphonal printed in Augsburg in 1495 by Erhard Ratdolt.⁵⁸ Birkendorf's study consistently argues that the second section of the Pernner codex was copied c. 1520-21 in Augsburg following the dissolution of the Imperial chapel. Perhaps the connections between Augsburg and the Pernner codex, as a whole, are more far reaching than Birkendorf suggests. Certainly the attribution to Senfl of the motet Spiritus sanctus in te in a contemporary manuscript source would appear to carry much more authority than the Isaac attribution in a printed source almost 50 years later. I suggest the motet should be considered amongst Senfl's oeuvre.

⁵⁶ ibid., I:104.

⁵⁷ ibid., I:223.

⁵⁸ For a full discussion of both chant sources see this study chapter three, p.173-7. For further discussion of this work see also this study chapter six

2. **Benedic anima mea**

The three-part motet Benedic anima mea sets the text of Psalm 102. The work is attributed to Isaac in Johann Petreius' second volume of psalm settings Tomus secundus psalmorum selectorum quatuor et quinque vocum printed in Nuremberg in 1539 (RISM 1539⁹), the only source known to Just.⁵⁹ Picker lists one other manuscript source, Leiden 1442, where the work appears anonymously.⁶⁰ Two further sources listed in the recently published catalogue of psalm motet prints by Petreius bring to light a conflicting attribution.⁶¹ The earliest surviving source for the motet is, in fact, the second volume of Petrucci's corona series Motetti de la corona libro secundo published in Fossombrone in June 1519 (RISM 1519¹). In this source the work is attributed to Eustachius de Monte Regali.⁶² In addition, the work is also listed in the inventory of music, Heidelberg 318, which survives from the court chapel of Ottheinrich, count of the Palatinate.⁶³ This inventory was probably compiled in c.1544 and catalogues a large collection of manuscript and printed music including both the above-mentioned prints of Petrucci and Petreius. The motet Benedic anima mea is consequently catalogued twice, copied once from the Petrucci print and attributed to Eustachius and copied once from the Petreius volume and attributed to Isaac.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Just, 'Studien', II:37-8.

⁶⁰ Picker, *A Guide*, 87.

⁶¹ Teramoto and Brinzing, *Katalog der Musikdrucke des Johannes Petreius*, 40.

⁶² An edition of the work from this source is published in SCM 5:48-72.

⁶³ A facsimile and edition of this source is published in Lambrecht, Das "Heidelberger Kapellinventar". See also review of this facsimile by Leuchtman, *ML*, 71 (1990), 79-80.

⁶⁴ See pages 39 and 55 of the facsimile respectively

Little is known of the biography of the French composer Eustachio de Monte Regali (sometimes called Gallus to distinguish him from Eustachius de Macionibus called 'Romanus').⁶⁵ It seems likely that he was a member of the Papal chapel at least as early as 1519 at which time he was granted an expectative from Pope Leo X.⁶⁶ Between 1520-24 he was maestro di cappella at Modena Cathedral and probably returned to the papal chapel in 1524. He signed a pay list of papal singers in December 1526 and was granted another expectative by Clement VII in May of the same year.⁶⁷

The composers represented in the later corona volumes reflect the French Royal chapel and the Papal chapel as well as the musical centre of Ferrara.⁶⁸ The second volume includes works by Carpentras and Festa who, along with Eustachio, were also members of the papal chapel at the time of its publication. The reliability of Petrucci's attributions has recently been examined by Willem Elders with reference to the works of Josquin des Prez.⁶⁹ Elders concludes that Petrucci's attributions are generally safe.

Je crois qu'il est possible de conclure que les attributions de Petrucci sont à un haut degré dignes de foi.⁷⁰

It seems probable, therefore, given that Eustachio was employed at the Papal chapel at the time Petrucci's volume appeared, that the work was composed by

⁶⁵ For a brief biography and list of works see MRM 6:10-12. The editors note, without comment, the conflicting attribution of the motet to Isaac in RISM 1539⁹.

⁶⁶ Sherr, 'Notes on Some Papal Documents', 13.

⁶⁷ Sherr, 'New Archival Data', 472-8.

⁶⁸ SCM 5:p xv.

⁶⁹ Elders, 'Le problème de l'authenticité chez Josquin'.

⁷⁰ ibid., 114

him.⁷¹ The earliest attribution of the piece to Isaac dates from some 20 years later and, as is frequently the case with late printed attributions, must be regarded as doubtful.

3. **Virgo prudentissima**

The four-voice antiphon setting Virgo prudentissima is attributed to Josquin in the work's earliest extant source, Petrucci's Motetti A of 1502 (RISM 1502¹) as well as in three manuscript sources: MunichU 322-35; St Gall 463; and St Gall 530.⁷² The earliest Isaac attribution is the Formschneider print of 1537, Novum et insigne opus musicum (Nuremberg: H Grapheus) (RISM 1537¹). In his study of Petrucci's Josquin attributions, Elders argues that Formschneider's attribution of this work to Isaac stemmed from Isaac's six-voice motet of the same name, printed by Formschneider in the following year (RISM 1538³).

Mais il va sans dire que Formschneider parvint à cette attribution en 1537 en raison du motet homonyme d'Isaac à six voix. Plus de vingt ans plus tard, cette attribution a été reprise encore deux fois [RISM 1559² and Dresden 1/D/6 (ca. 1570)].⁷³ (my brackets)

As we have seen, Elders study finds that Petrucci's Josquin attributions are generally reliable. It is therefore probable that this four-voice setting of the antiphon "Virgo prudentissima" is by Josquin and not by Isaac.

⁷¹ The work is discussed at some length in Judd, 'Reading Aron Reading Petrucci', see esp 134-42, where the attribution of the work to Eustachio is not questioned.

⁷² JosquinMo i Bd v:133-35

⁷³ Elders, 'Le problème', 113

4. **Qui paraclitus diceris**

The attribution of the six-voice hymn setting Qui paraclitus diceris to Isaac is not questioned by either Just or Staehelin.⁷⁴ However, Just was unaware of many of the work's sources including two in which the work is attributed to Adam Rener (see table 1.8). The work's earliest source is Georg Rhau's Sacrorum hymnorum liber primus of 1542 (RISM 1542¹²) in which the motet is attributed to Rener. The earliest source which attributes the work to Isaac is the Montanus & Neuber print Thesauri musici tomus tertius ... of 1564 (RISM 1564³) over 20 years later. It therefore seems likely that the work is by Adam Rener.

Table 1.8: Qui paraclitus diceris : Transmission

<u>Source</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Attribution</u>	<u>Not known to Just</u>
Georg Rhau <u>Sacrorum hymnorum liber primus</u> (RISM 1542 ¹²)	1542	Rener	X
Stuttgart 24	dtd 1557	anon	
Budapest Pr.6	dtd 1558	Rener	X
Montanus & Neuber <u>Thesauri musici tomus tertius</u> (RISM 1564 ³)	1564	Isaac	
Rostock 49	dtd 1566	anon	X
Regensburg A.R.879	dtd 1569-72	Isaac	
Bratislava 11	dtd 1571	anon	X
Munich 1536 (copied from RISM 1564 ³)	dtd 1583	Isaac	

⁷⁴

Just, 'Studien', I:119; Staehelin, 'Isaac, Heinrich', Grove6 The work is considered doubtful by Picker see A Guide, 95-6.

5. Erubescat Judaeus

This five-voice piece is the fourth section of Senfl's responsory setting Gaude Maria virgo which is transmitted and attributed to Senfl in the Liber selectarum cantionum of 1520. The work is wrongly identified as part of Isaac's Optime divino by the theorist Lodovico Zacconi in his Prattica di musica of 1592.⁷⁵

6. Que vous madame/In pace in idipsum

This three-voice chanson-motet is transmitted in many sources.⁷⁶ The work is attributed to Josquin des Prez in seven important sources (Bologna Q17, Brussels 11239, Florence B.R.229, Florence 178, Rome 2856, Segovia, Cappella Giulia) and to Alexander Agricola in two others (Petrucci's Canti C of 1504 (RISM 1504³) and Rhau's Tricinia of 1542 (RISM 1542⁸)). The only attribution to Isaac is in the organ tablature Basel 22 (copied between c.1513 and c.1535) which proves to be a generally unreliable source with regard to its composer attributions (see, for example, Si dedero and Si dormiero below).⁷⁷ Picker believes that the work is by Josquin.⁷⁸

7. Si Dedero

This work is widely disseminated in printed and manuscript sources.⁷⁹ Nine sources, including several late 15th century manuscripts attribute the work to Agricola (see for example Florence B.R.229, Florence 178 and the Cappella

⁷⁵ L. Zacconi, Prattica di musica, (Venice, 1592/R1982); see also Just, 'Studien', I 47 and Staehelin, Die Messen, II 129-30.

⁷⁶ For list of sources see Picker, The Chanson Albums, 158-61.

⁷⁷ Kmetz, Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Basel, 75-84

⁷⁸ Picker, The Chanson Albums, 160.

⁷⁹ For list of sources see *ibid*, 161-3

Giulia chansonier). The only attribution of this work to Isaac is found in the organ tablature Basel 22 and would appear to carry little weight.⁸⁰

8. **Spiritus Domini replevit**

The four-voice motet Spiritus Domini replevit is by Jean Mouton. The sole attribution to Isaac occurs in the superius part-book of Regensburg A.R.875-877 and is clearly a scribal error. The work is attributed to Mouton in the tenor part-book of the same source as well as in two further sources, Regensburg B.211-15 and RISM 1558²⁰.⁸¹

9. **Tulerunt Dominum meum**

The attribution of the four-voice motet Tulerunt Dominum meum to Isaac is tenuous at best. The motet's title is listed in the index of polyphonic compositions which prefaces Heinrich Glarean's treatise Dodecachordon with the remark "quidam Isaac adscribunt" ("which some ascribe to Isaac").⁸² However, Glarean appears to have revised his opinion as to the work's attribution several times. In an earlier manuscript copied for Glarean, MunichU 322-325 (dtd 1527), the work is attributed to Josquin, as it is in the later source St Gall 463 (ca. 1540). Within the main text of the Dodecachordon, which was published in 1547, Glarean is less certain of the work's attribution stating "we were unable to ascertain a definite author".⁸³ After the work was printed, he

⁸⁰ Kmetz, Die Handschriften, 75-84

⁸¹ Just, 'Studien', I:37, 57.

⁸² The remark may be observed in the facsimile of the treatise Henricus Loritus Glareanus Dodecachordon (Hildesheim: G Olms, 1969).

⁸³ Glarean, Dodecachordon, II.259

apparently changed his mind again. Clement Miller, the editor of the treatise, observes

After the work was printed he sent a copy to (Johannes) Aal, naming Michael of Verona the composer.⁸⁴

The work is transmitted anonymously in its earliest source, Petrucci's Motetti de la Passione of 1503 (RISM 1503¹) as well as in the manuscript Cortona/Paris (ca. 1515). The earliest attributed source for the motet is the third volume of Petrucci's Motetti de la corona published in 1519 (RISM 1519²). In this source, the work is attributed to Pre. Michael de Verona (Michele Pesenti). Just, who was aware of only four of the work's sources, not including Petrucci's Motetti de la corona, lists the work among his incerta.⁸⁵ Picker concludes that the work is by either Michele Pesenti or Josquin des Prez.⁸⁶ It seems certain that the work is not by Isaac.

⁸⁴ ibid., I:30.

⁸⁵ Just, 'Studien', I:49-50, 208-09

⁸⁶ Picker, A Guide, 98.

Doubtful attributions

The attributions of the following motets to Isaac are considered doubtful.

1. Judea et Jerusalem

The four-voice responsory setting Judea et Jerusalem is transmitted in five manuscripts and one printed source. The work is also listed by title in the inventory Heidelberg 318 (see table 1.9). The work's earliest surviving source is the manuscript Dresden 1/D/505 where it is attributed to Obrecht. The work is attributed to Isaac in three sources: the Petreius volume of 1538 Modulationes aliquot quatuor vocum selectissimae, quas vulgo modetas vocant (RISM 1538⁷), Heidelberg 318 and Regensburg A.R.838-843. Both Heidelberg 318 and also Leipzig 51 (in which the work appears anonymously) are copied directly from the Petreius print.⁸⁷ Just, aware of only two of the work's sources, RISM 1538⁷ and Regensburg A.R.838-843, both of which attribute the work to Isaac, does not question the work's attribution.⁸⁸ Staehelin and Picker both note the conflicting attribution in the Dresden manuscript but consider the work to be by Isaac.⁸⁹

The Annaberg Choirbooks, Dresden 1/D/505 and 1/D/506, were probably copied c.1500 in Wittenberg or its vicinity and later taken to Annaberg and used at the Church of St Anna.⁹⁰ Thomas Noblitt's study of the manuscript Dresden 1/D/505

⁸⁷ Noblitt, 'A Reconstruction of Ms Thomaskirche 51'.

⁸⁸ Just, 'Studien', I:137-8.

⁸⁹ Staehelin, 'Isaac, Heinrich', Grove6; Picker, A Guide, 89.

⁹⁰ Census-Catalogue, Steude, 'Annaberger Chorbücher', MGG2, see also Steude, Untersuchungen zur mitteldeutschen Musiküberlieferung, 23-8.

casts doubt on the reliability of many of the composer attributions in this source.

They are described generally as "not entirely trustworthy".⁹¹

Table 1.9: Judea et Jerusalem : transmission

Source	Date	Attribution	Not known to Just
Dresden 1/D/505	ca. 1530	Obrecht	X
<u>Modulationes aliquot quatuor vocum selectissimae, quas vulgo modetas vocant</u> (Nuremberg: J Petreius) [RISM 1538 ⁷]	1538	Isaac	
Heidelberg 318 (title only)	dtd. 1544	Isaac	X
Leipzig 51 (T, B only)	ca. 1550	anon	X
Dresden 59 (A, T only)	dtd. 1548-50	anon	X
Regensburg A.R.838-843	dtd. 1571-73	Isaac	
Zwickau XCIV,1 (A, T part-books)	dtd 1590	anon	X

In particular, two attributions to Obrecht are considered incorrect: the motet Si oblitus fuero attributed to Obrecht in this manuscript is believed to be by Ninot le Petit; and Noblitt also doubts the attribution to Obrecht of the motet Judea et Jerusalem.

Another piece ascribed to Obrecht, the responsory Judaea et Jerusalem, is probably not his either. It has been found in four other sources, but in none of those is it attributed to him. In two instances it is anonymous; in the other two (one of which is a printed source) it is credited to Isaac.⁹²

⁹¹ Noblitt, 'Manuscript Mus. 1/D/505 of the Sächsische Landesbibliothek Dresden', 277.
⁹² ibid, 278.

The attribution of this work therefore lies in some doubt. The motet's earliest source, in which the work is attributed to Obrecht, is considered unreliable. At the same time, however, the reliability of Petreius' attributions has also been questioned (see Benedic anima mea above). The late attribution of the motet to Isaac in the manuscript Regensburg A.R.838-843 may support Isaac's authorship. In conclusion, however, the attribution of this work to Isaac must be considered uncertain.⁹³

2. La stangetta (Ortus de celo)

This three-voice piece is transmitted anonymously in six of its nine sources.⁹⁴ The three attributed sources each ascribe the work to a different composer. The work's earliest source is Petrucci's Odhecaton A of 1501 (RISM 1501). In this source, the work is transmitted with the text incipit "La stangetta" and is attributed to Gaspar van Weerbeke ("Uerbech"). The Segovia manuscript (ca. 1502) attributes the work to Isaac. In this manuscript, the work is transmitted with the text "Ortus de celo". In a much later source, the manuscript Zwickau 78/3 (ca. 1540), the work is transmitted without text and is attributed to Obrecht. Dietrich Kämper argues that the composer attribution in this last manuscript, a source known to be directly related to Petrucci's Odhecaton A, may have been a careless or hasty mis-reading of the composer attribution "Uerbech" in the earlier print.⁹⁵ Kämper argues convincingly for the primacy of the Petrucci source. He believes that the title "La stangetta" belies the work's dedication and

⁹³ See also chapter two for discussion of cantus firmus treatment in this work.

⁹⁴ See Picker, A Guide, 95, for full list of sources; an edition of the work is published in OdhecatonA, 325-6.

⁹⁵ Kämper, 'La stangetta', see esp. 278.

proposes as the addressee of the composition Marchesino Stanga, a prominent member of the Cremonese Stanga family. Isaac's authorship of the piece seems unlikely.

3. **Si dormiero**

The three-voice motet Si dormiero is one of a small group of "Si" pieces that appear to be closely related to one another. They include Alexander Agricola's three-voice motet Si dedero (incorrectly attributed to Isaac in the organ tablature Basel 22 (see above)); Obrecht's Missa Si dedero which takes Agricola's motet as its model; two three-voice motets Si bona suscepimus and Si sumpsero pennas by Obrecht; as well as Josquin's chanson-motet Que vous madame/In pace in idipsum which is related by its cantus firmus to Agricola's piece (this work is also incorrectly attributed to Isaac in Basel 22 (see above)). The pieces are often transmitted together in the sources, for example, Si dedero, Si sumpsero and Que vous madame/In pace in idipsum appear together in the manuscript Brussels 11239 (fols. 31'-35) while, Si dedero and Que vous madame/In pace in idipsum share numerous manuscript sources including Florence B.R.229, Florence 178, the Cappella Giulia chansonnier and Rome 2856.

Si dormiero is attributed to Isaac in two sources, the organ tablature Basel 22, a generally unreliable source in its attributions and the manuscript Vienna 18810 (dtd. 1524-33, with text "Guretzsch").⁹⁶ The work's earliest source is probably

⁹⁶ For description and inventory of this last source see J.O. Robinson: 'Vienna, Austrian National Library, Manuscript 18810: a Repertory Study and Manuscript Inventory with Concordances', JRMA, 19 (1983-5), 68-84

the manuscript FlorenceC 2439, the Basevi codex (ca 1508), which attributes the work to Pierre de la Rue. The piece is also transmitted as the secunda pars of Agricola's motet Si dedero in the organ tablature St Gall 530 and in a later printed source, RISM 1536¹³, the work is attributed to Hainricus Finck. The authorship of the work remains uncertain.

4. Salve regina III

This work is transmitted in two manuscript sources, Berlin 40021 and Rome VatCS 15.⁹⁷ In the index of the Berlin manuscript, the work is listed amongst two other “Salve regina” settings which have been safely attributed to Isaac. Just writes

Im Index von Berlin 40021 heißt es “Salve regina .h.Isaac etc.” Darauf folgen die Foliozahlen zu vier Kompositionen in der Reihenfolge: Salve regina II [=No.32], Salve Regina III [=No. 41], Salve Regina I [=No.79] sowie eine Komposition Agricolas; das “etc.” bezieht sich demnach auf weitere ungenannte Autoren.⁹⁸

The attribution of the “Salve regina” settings Nos. 79 and 32 to Isaac are both confirmed by concordant sources. However, the only concordant source for Salve regina III (No. 41) is the Vatican manuscript Rome VatCS 15 where the work is transmitted anonymously. Just doubts the attribution of this work to Isaac, pointing to several features of the work which he considers uncharacteristic of our composer, including the reduced scoring in the second section of the work.⁹⁹ The work is also considered doubtful by Stachelin and

⁹⁷ EDM 76:265-70.

⁹⁸ Just, ‘Studien’, I:59.

⁹⁹ ibid., I:207-8.

Johannes Maier.¹⁰⁰ Picker, on the other hand, accepts the work's attribution to Isaac.¹⁰¹ Isaac's authorship of this work, however, remains doubtful.

Spurious motets

Hans Joachim Moser interpreted the attribution to Ar.Fer. of a four-voice setting of the Marian antiphon "Salve regina" transmitted uniquely in the manuscript Munich 3154, as an abbreviation of Ar[rigo] Fer[rarese] and took this as a reference to Isaac.¹⁰² Both Just and Noblitt consider the attribution of the piece to Isaac doubtful and the work is also classified as doubtful by Picker and Staehelin (see tables 1.5 and 1.6).¹⁰³ The work must be considered spurious as it is not attributed to Isaac in the manuscript source.

Two motets are attributed to Isaac by modern scholars despite being transmitted anonymously in the sources. In his study of polyphony at Modena Cathedral, David Crawford attributes to Isaac on stylistic grounds the six voice motet O sacrum convivium, which is transmitted uniquely and without attribution in the choirbook Modena IV.¹⁰⁴ In addition, John White attributes the four-voice motet Nisi tu Domine to Isaac, despite its anonymous transmission in its three sources: Munich 1536; RISM 1512¹ and Cracow 1716.¹⁰⁵ Both works must be considered spurious.

¹⁰⁰ Staehelin, 'Isaac, Heinrich', Grove6; Maier, Studien zur Geschichte der Marienantiphon, 107.

¹⁰¹ Picker, A Guide, 92.

¹⁰² Moser, Paul Hofhaimer, 135 anm. An edition of the work is published EDM 81-41-52, see also Just, 'Studien', I.204-7.

¹⁰³ Just, 'Studien', I:204-07; Noblitt, 'Das Chorbuch des Nikolaus Leopold', 173, note 23; Picker, A Guide, 96; Staehelin, 'Isaac, Heinrich', Grove6.

¹⁰⁴ Crawford, 'Vespers Polyphony at Modena's Cathedral', I:233-6.

¹⁰⁵ J.R. White: 'The Tablature of Johannes of Lublin: Ms 1716 of the Polish Academy of Science in Cracow', MD, 17 (1963), 137-162, see esp 150.

Just's dubia

Table 1.10 lists motets considered dubia by Just together with their sources.

Sources not known to Just are highlighted in the table.

Table 1.10: Motets considered dubia by Just and their sources

1.	Dies est laetitiae	Eisenach Cationale (Isaac)
2.	Discubuit Jesus	Heidelberg 318 (Isaac, title only) Zwickau 81/2 (Henricus Isaac)
3.	Gentile spiritus	Segovia (Ysaac)
4.	Illumina oculos meos	Hradec 21 (anon) Iserlohn F.124 (B lacking; anon) Mlada (Pane Boze: incompl) Regensburg B.216-19 (H. Isaac) RISM [c.1535] ¹⁴ (S, pt. 1 only; anon) RISM 1542 ⁸ (anon) RISM [1560]¹ (anon)
5.	Ista est speciosa	Königsberg 1740 RISM [c.1535] ¹⁴ (S only; anon)
6.	Quid retribuam tibi, Leo	RISM 1542 ⁸
7.	Salve virgo sanctissima	Rome VatCS 15 (anon) Segovia (Ysaac)
8.	Veni sancte spiritus	Budapest Pr. 3 RISM 1551 ¹⁷
9.	Verbum caro factum est	Budapest Pr. 3 Hradec 17 (anon) Regensburg A.R.855-56 (H. Isaac) Regensburg C.96 (anon)

The four-voice cantio Dies est laetitiae is attributed to Isaac in its unique source the Eisenach Cantionale.¹⁰⁶ It is the only work attributed to Isaac in this source.¹⁰⁷ Just doubts the work's attribution on the basis of its singular, late transmission as well as some compositional clumsiness (parallel octaves).¹⁰⁸ The Eisenach Cantionale transmits sacred music including mass proper sections, motets, magnificat settings and hymns. Composers represented include Johann Galliculus, Heinrich Finck, Josquin Desprez, Anton Musa, Ludwig Senfl, Thomas Stoltzer and Johann Walter. The manuscript was compiled by Kantor Wolfgang Zeuner between c.1535-1545.¹⁰⁹ Zeuner was a Schulkollege in Eisenach in 1536 and was deacon from 1544.¹¹⁰ His death in 1548 provides a terminus ante quem for the compilation of the manuscript. The absence of any supporting attribution for this work in other sources, leaves the authorship of the work uncertain.

The responsory setting Discubuit Jesus is preserved incompletely in the manuscript Zwickau 81/2 (altus voice book is missing) and is listed by title in Heidelberg 318.¹¹¹ In both sources the work is attributed to Isaac. Just, aware of only the Zwickau source, casts doubt on the work's attribution.

Einzelne offene und schlecht verdeckte parallelen lassen Zweifel an der Echtheit aufkommen, doch erlaubt die fragmentarische Gestalt der Komposition kein abschliessendes Urteil.¹¹²

¹⁰⁶ The motet is unpublished.

¹⁰⁷ A description and inventory of the source is given in Schröder, 'Das Eisenacher Cantorenbuch'; see also Rollberg, 'Das Eisenacher Cantorenbuch'.

¹⁰⁸ Just, 'Studien', I 117.

¹⁰⁹ Steude, Untersuchung zur mitteldeutschen Musiküberlieferung, 132-3; See also Oefner, 'Eisenach', MGG2.

¹¹⁰ Steude, Untersuchung zur mitteldeutschen Musiküberlieferung, 133.

¹¹¹ This motet is unpublished.

¹¹² Just, 'Studien', I 139-40

The manuscript Heidelberg 318 catalogues a vast collection of printed and manuscript music - approximately 4,500 items and more than 120 composers. Through comparison with extant musical sources, the editor of the inventory, Jutta Lambrecht, has been able to identify the sources from which a great many of the titles were copied.¹¹³ The inventory lists a considerable number of Isaac's motets and, in most cases, it is possible to determine the sources from which the titles were copied (see table 1.11).¹¹⁴ However, the source from which the motet title Discubuit Jesus was copied has not been identified.

Table 1.11: Isaac's motets in Heidelberg 318

Motet	Source
Accessit ad pedes	RISM 1538 ⁷
Ave sanctissima Maria	RISM 1520 ⁴
Benedic anima mea	RISM 1539 ⁹ - attributed to Isaac RISM 1519 ¹ - attributed to Eustachio Monte de Regali ¹¹⁵
Credidi propter	RISM 1539 ⁹
Discubuit Jesus	?
Homo quidam fecit	lost
Judea et Jerusalem	RISM 1538 ⁷
O Maria mater	RISM 1520 ⁴
Optime pastor	RISM 1520 ⁴
Prophetarum maxime	RISM 1520 ⁴
Virga Jessa	lost
Virgo prudentissima (a4)	RISM1537 ¹ [Josquin: incorrect attribution]
Virgo prudentissima (a6)	RISM 1520 ⁴

¹¹³ Lambrecht, Das "Heidelberger Kapellinventar".

¹¹⁴ The source is not listed consistently by Picker in the sources of Isaac's motets

¹¹⁵ Conflicting attribution discussed p 52-4 above

An inventory of the manuscript Zwickau 81/2 was first published by Reiner Vollhardt.¹¹⁶ More recently the manuscript has been discussed by Wolfram Steude and Rainer Birkendorf.¹¹⁷ Steude's research shows that Zwickau 81/2 belongs to a group of seven manuscripts that were all copied by the same scribe and originated in Wittenberg.¹¹⁸ Zwickau 81/2 probably dates from the mid-16th century. It transmits predominantly sacred music with the majority of works attributed to Ludwig Senfl, Thomas Stoltzer and Heinrich Finck. The motet Discubuit Jesus is the only piece attributed to Isaac in this source.

Birkendorf highlights the close relationship between Zwickau 81/2 and the Pernner codex.¹¹⁹ The concordances between the two manuscripts comprise, with one exception, motets by Senfl. The similarity of the versions of these works in both manuscripts leads Birkendorf to conclude that both sources derive from a common model. He believes that Zwickau 81/2 is linked to manuscripts from the Imperial chapel via an intermediary source and constructs the following stemmata:¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ Vollhardt, Bibliographie der Musik-werke, 33-8.

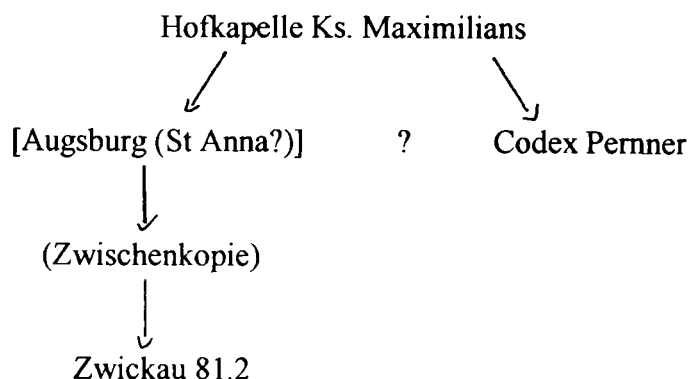
¹¹⁷ Steude, Untersuchungen, 12-18; Birkendorf, Der Codex Pernner, I:138-41 and III:168-71.

¹¹⁸ Steude, Untersuchungen, 138. The manuscripts are: Dresden 1-D-3 and 1-D-4; Zwickau 81/2, 100/4 and 106/5; and Budapest 22 and Budapest 23.

¹¹⁹ Birkendorf, Der Codex Pernner, I:138-41.

¹²⁰ ibid., I:140

Relationship between Zwickau 81/2 and the Pernner codex



As a possible link between Wittenberg (where Zwickau 81/2 was copied) and Augsburg, Birkendorf suggests the composer and music theorist Johannes Frosch (c.1480-1533).¹²¹ Frosch was awarded his licence of theology in Wittenberg and from 1517 was in charge of the church of St Anna in Augsburg where Birkendorf believes the second section of the Pernner codex was copied. In 1518 Frosch returned to Wittenberg and from 1522 was again in Augsburg.

If we accept that the Zwickau manuscript is closely related to Imperial chapel sources, then the attribution of the motet Discubuit Jesus to Isaac would appear to be relatively safe, despite its rather late transmission. Given that the work is attributed to Isaac in both surviving sources, I see no reason to doubt the attribution of this work.

¹²¹

ibid

Just considers dubia two motets which are both attributed to Isaac in the Segovia manuscript.¹²² The three-voice instrumental-type motet Gentile spiritus is transmitted uniquely in this source while the four-voice motet Salve virgo sanctissima also appears, without attribution, in the Vatican manuscript Rome VatCS 15.¹²³ Just questions the attribution of both works to Isaac because of their relatively early transmission.¹²⁴ With reference to Salve virgo sanctissima, he writes

Daß die laudenartige Komposition in zwei relativ frühen Manuskripten erhalten ist (Rom 15 und Segovia K), läßt Isaacs Autorschaft unsicher erscheinen.¹²⁵

The reliability of the composer attributions in the Segovia manuscript have been questioned by several authors.¹²⁶ Just describes the manuscript as “nicht frei von zweifelhaften und falschen Zuschreibungen”.¹²⁷ In her recent study of the manuscript, Norma Baker identifies 26 pieces which bear conflicting attributions in one or more contemporary sources.¹²⁸ Notwithstanding, she concludes that the attributions in this source are “as reliable as many central sources”,¹²⁹ an opinion which is supported by Martin Picker.¹³⁰ Regarding the authenticity of the unica attributed to Isaac in Segovia, Picker states

¹²² A description and inventory of this manuscript is given in Anglès, ‘Un manuscrit inconnu’.

¹²³ An edition of Gentile spiritus is included in Baker, ‘An Unnumbered manuscript’, 2 984-9; an edition of Salve virgo sanctissima is included in my Masters thesis, ‘The Early Life and Works of Heinrich Isaac (c.1450-1517)’ (thesis, U. of London, 1992), i-xii

¹²⁴ Gentile spiritus is considered a carmine by Just (I:184-85) and is listed amongst the dubia (I:204).

¹²⁵ Just, ‘Studien’, I.159.

¹²⁶ See, for example, Just, Der Mensuralkodex, I:122-4 and Strohm, The Rise, 620 and 606.

¹²⁷ Just, Der Mensuralkodex, I.124.

¹²⁸ Baker, ‘An Unnumbered Manuscript of Polyphony’.

¹²⁹ ibid., I-62.

¹³⁰ Picker, ‘Isaac in Flanders’

Although the attributions are not supported by concordant sources, to assume that as a group they are inauthentic flies in the face of common sense, since most of the other works attributed to him in Segovia are demonstrably by him.¹³¹

Picker considers many of the pieces by Isaac in Segovia, and the unica in particular, to be "juvenilia",

To my eye and ear they represent the work of a young composer in the process of learning his craft by imitating models from the Mass and chanson repertoire of the preceding generation, and by writing contrapuntal studies masquerading as motets.¹³²

Indeed, he suggests that Gentile spiritus "may not be a motet in any sense" but rather perhaps "a contrapuntal study or Mass-fragment".¹³³ By contrast, I suggest that rather than a Mass-fragment, Gentile spiritus may be considered an instrumental piece. The work's transmission with textual incipit only, the unusually low tessitura of the voices and the busy contrapuntal textures would appear to support this assumption. Moreover, the compiler of the Segovia manuscript appears to have enjoyed collecting such pieces by many composers. Other three-voice instrumental pieces transmitted here include, for example, Agricola's Si dederò, Johannes Martini's O intemerata, as well as the popular instrumental piece Cecus non judicat (Gaudet in celis). In addition, we also find the three-voice work, Ortus de celo which Segovia attributes to Isaac. This work is almost certainly an instrumental piece (La stangetta) by Gaspar van Weerbeke (see above). This probably incorrect attribution throws doubt on the

¹³¹ ibid, 160.

¹³² ibid

¹³³ ibid, 162-3.

reliability generally of the manuscript's attributions to Isaac. The authorship of the three-voice motet Gentile spiritus must therefore remain uncertain.

The four-voice motet Salve virgo sanctissima is a very different type of piece. This is a beautiful, two-part motet composed without cantus firmus. It sets a devotional text which clearly derives from the antiphon text "Salve regina misericordiae". Both Just and Picker doubt the attribution of the work to Isaac.¹³⁴ Concerning this work and the strambotto Morte che fay, Picker writes

If they are by Isaac, they must have been composed before his arrival in Italy in 1484 or early 1485. However, they stand so isolated in the Segovia manuscript that they should be considered uncertain at best.¹³⁵

Leaving aside Morte che fay which appears much later in the Segovia manuscript, the motet Salve virgo sanctissima is copied in the opening section of this source amongst a small group of mainly four-voice motets, many of which set Marian texts. Its appearance in this manuscript does not, therefore, appear isolated and moreover, I would argue that the work is stylistically similar to a handful of other free motets composed by Isaac during his employment in Florence.

In Salve virgo sanctissima, a rather melismatic setting of the text in the first section contrasts with a noticeably more syllabic setting in the second (from "Ora precor mater"). Here the text is declaimed in broad, repeated chords and phrases are separated by rests and fermata-held chords. The piece ends with a short

¹³⁴ Just, 'Studien', I 159, 204

¹³⁵ Picker, 'Isaac in Flanders', 156

passage in triple meter which begins in lilting rhythms and ends with a return to the more contrapuntal style of the opening section. Close imitation is seen between superius and tenor voices (b220-32) and the work ends with an expansive, chordal "Amen".

Many of these features are seen in other of Isaac's motets, most notably Quis dabit pacem and Prophetarum maxime. The contrast between imitative contrapuntal writing and passages of broad textual declamation is clearly present, for example, in the three-part motet Prophetarum Maxime (see the opening section especially).¹³⁶ The emphasis on text setting is also seen in the lament Quis dabit pacem.¹³⁷ Here again much of the text is declaimed in broad, repeated chords in all voices with rests and held chords delineating phrases.

Both Quis dabit pacem and Prophetarum maxime may be safely dated to Isaac's period of employment in Florence (c.1484-96). Quis dabit pacem laments the death of Lorenzo de' Medici and was probably composed c.1492, while both the transmission and text of Prophetarum maxime support its Florentine origins. The work is preserved in several sources including the Florentine manuscripts Cortona/Paris, Florence 232 and Florence 164-167 and sets a compilation of sacred texts which include texts for the feast of St John the Baptist, patron saint of Florence.¹³⁸ Given the marked stylistic similarities between these motets and

¹³⁶ An edition of this motet is included in Roberts, 'The Music of Ludwig Senfl', 2.406-16.

¹³⁷ DTO 28.49-52.

¹³⁸ See Cummings, 'A Sacred Repertory', 280.

Salve virgo sanctissima, I suggest that the latter work may also have been composed during Isaac's Italian employment.

The transmission of the work in the Vatican manuscript Rome VatCS 15 appears to support this assumption. Richard Sherr's recent study of papal music manuscripts includes a detailed examination of the origins of this source, which was one of the earliest choirbooks copied for use by the Cappella Sistina.¹³⁹ Its repertory divides into three sections beginning with a collection of hymns, followed by a cycle of magnificat settings and ends with a collection of motets. Sherr observes the presence of French heraldry in the manuscript and links the manuscript's origins with a visit to Rome by Charles VIII in January 1495.

The visit of Charles VIII to Rome in January, 1495, coincided with a desire to create a repertory manuscript of liturgical pieces and motets to complement the mass manuscripts (VatS 14, 51, and 35) already in the possession of the chapel.¹⁴⁰

He dates the copying of the motet Salve virgo sanctissima (fol 173v-176r) between ca. 1495-97, a time-span that accords well with the suggestion that the work dates from Isaac's employment in Florence.¹⁴¹

The three-voice motet Illumina oculos meos is transmitted in four manuscript and three printed sources.¹⁴² Just, aware of only four of the work's sources (see table 1.9), doubts the work's attribution on the basis of its transmission and

¹³⁹ Sherr, Papal Music Manuscripts, 58-67.

¹⁴⁰ ibid., 65.

¹⁴¹ ibid., 116.

¹⁴² An edition of the motet is published in Rhau 9.46-54

style.¹⁴³ The motet is attributed to Isaac in the part-books Regensburg B.216-219 (c. 1538),¹⁴⁴ as well as in the Czech Cationale, Mladá Boleslav, copied in Prague and dated 1572.¹⁴⁵ In this source the work is transmitted incompletely and appears with a Czech translation of its text.¹⁴⁶ The motet appears anonymously in two further manuscript sources: the bassus part-book, Hradec 21, which comprises part of the music collection of the confraternity of literati at the church of the Holy Spirit in Hradec Králové;¹⁴⁷ and the manuscript fragments Iserlohn F.124 (dated 1544).¹⁴⁸ Printed sources of the work include: the superius part-book printed by Christian Egenolff (RISM [c.1535]¹⁴⁹), probably the work's earliest source¹⁴⁹; Georg Rhau's Tricinia of 1542 (RISM 1542⁸); and the Selectissorum tricinium printed in Nuremberg by J Berg & U Neuber (RISM [1560]¹). The work is transmitted anonymously in all three printed sources.

The psalm text "Illumina oculos meos" also appears as a sacred contrafactum text in two manuscript sources of Isaac's motet Quis dabit pacem, Kassel 24 and Leiden 1442. Just notes compositional parallels between the two works,

Daß jedoch Gliederung in Partes sowie die Satztechnik einzelner Abschnitte korrespondieren, läßt an engere Beziehungen denken.¹⁵⁰

However, he considers doubtful the attribution of the three-voice motet to Isaac.

¹⁴³ Just, 'Studien', I 152.

¹⁴⁴ Census-Catalogue, Haberkamp, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, 209-11.

¹⁴⁵ Census-Catalogue.

¹⁴⁶ Snizková, 'Niederlandische Musik in Böhmischen Handschriften'.

¹⁴⁷ Census-Catalogue.

¹⁴⁸ Census-Catalogue, Sowa, 'Die Liederhandschrift 1544'.

¹⁴⁹ Bridgman, 'Christian Egenolff, imprimeur de musique'; see also Staehelin, 'Zum Egenolff-Diskantband'.

¹⁵⁰ Just, 'Studien', I 152.

Dagegen spricht die Quellenlage sowie die stilistische Sonderstellung des Triciniums, die an Isaacs Autorschaft überhaupt zweifeln läßt.¹⁵¹

The motet is a rather extensive two-part work (192 bars). As Just observes, three-voice textures are rare amongst Isaac's motet compositions. They include the stylistically quite distinct, instrumental-type motets Gentile spiritus and Gratias refero tibi which offer little useful comparison here, as well as the motet Quid retribuam tibi, Leo. This last work is a relatively slight piece which sets, in the first section, an occasional, newly-composed text while the second section comprises a setting of the antiphon "Argentum et aurum". The attribution of this work to Isaac is also questioned by Just (see below).

More useful stylistic comparison, however, may be made between Illumina oculos meos and works such as Quis dabit pacem which, as Just observes, have an equally strong emphasis on the careful setting of the motet text. In Illumina oculos meos several features of text setting may be considered typical of Isaac. These include: the syllabic chordal declamation of particular text phrases; (see, for example, the very opening of the motet "Illumina"), often in extended note values (eg b173-75 "dixi: tu es spes"), and often with repeated pitches in all voices (b28-30 "in manus tuas, Domine"); the separation of phrases by rests in all voices (eg b2, b28, b173, b178); and phrases which begin with syllabic setting of the text and then open out into a more melismatic setting (eg b12-16 "ne quando dicat" and b44-49 "locutus sum in lingua mea"). Imitation does not play a significant role in this work, a feature which perhaps speaks against Isaac's

¹⁵¹

ibid

authorship. Short passages of parallel writing between the two outer voices (see the opening of the second section b84-86 and b89-91) are, however, quite typical.

In summary, it proves difficult to corroborate the manuscript attributions of this work to Isaac through stylistic analysis. The relatively late transmission of the work generally and, in particular, in the two attributed sources leaves the authorship of the work uncertain.

The motet Ista est speciosa survives in a fragmentary form, only the superius and bassus voice parts are extant. This work is attributed to Isaac in one source, the manuscript Königsberg 1740, a manuscript recognised to be unreliable in its composer attributions.¹⁵² The superius voice part only is also transmitted, without attribution, in the printed source RISM [c.1535]¹⁴.¹⁵³ The attribution to Isaac of this work must therefore remain doubtful.

The motet Quid retribuam tibi, Leo is attributed to Isaac in its unique, printed source Tricinia: Tum veterum tum recentiorum in arte musica symphonistarum, latina, germanica, brabantia & gallica (Georg Rhau, Wittenberg: 1542) (RISM 1542⁸).¹⁵⁴ Just writes

¹⁵² Loge, Eine Messen- und Motettenhandschrift see especially chapter 4 'Über die Anlage des inhaltsverzeichnisses Glaubwürdigkeit der Überlieferung Die mutmassliche Herkunft der Kompositionen', 22-8.

¹⁵³ Bridgman, 'Christian Egenolff, imprimeur de musique'

¹⁵⁴ Rhau 9:76-8

Späte Überlieferung, Textkompilation und für ein Spät-Werk Isaacs ... unbefriedigende Setzweise lassen die Echtheit fraglich erscheinen.¹⁵⁵

The motet is a slight work for three voices and sets a compilation of psalm, antiphon and newly-composed texts. The text of the first section gives thanks to Pope Leo X while the second section comprises a setting of the antiphon "Argentum et aurum". Albert Dunning argues that Isaac may have composed the work as an offering of thanks - 'eine musikalische "Danksagung"' - to the Pope who had taken a personal interest in securing a pension for the composer's retirement in Florence.¹⁵⁶ Letters concerning arrangements for Isaac's pension date from May 1514 and in November of the following year the Pope visited Florence. Staehelin suggests that it may have been for this occasion that Isaac composed the motet.¹⁵⁷

The antiphon "Argentum et aurum" serves as cantus firmus for another, much earlier, motet by Isaac, the four-voice chant setting Argentum et aurum.¹⁵⁸ One small stylistic feature links the two works. Imitation of the antiphon melody in the non chant-carrying voices is limited in both pieces to the imitation of a single phrase, and in both cases the same phrase. In the four-voice motet, the antiphon melody is stated three times, appearing in equal note values firstly in the superius voice, then in the bassus and finally in the tenor. At only one point in the work is reference made to the cantus firmus in the accompanying counterpoint. The phrase "non est mihi" is imitated in the superius voice during

¹⁵⁵ Just, 'Studien', I.180-1.

¹⁵⁶ Dunning, Die Staatsmotette, 47, n.3; see also Staehelin, Die Messen, II:79-80.

¹⁵⁷ Staehelin, Die Messen, II:79-80

¹⁵⁸ See chapter two of this study for discussion

the bassus chant statement. The phrase is stated in breves in the bassus voice (b45-51) and is imitated in semibreves in the superius voice (b49-53).

In the three-voice motet, the antiphon melody appears in the highest voice in the second section of the work. It is set mainly in semibreve values with slight melodic and rhythmic embellishment. Here again the only phrase to be subject to any type of imitation is the phrase "non est mihi". It is stated firstly in the highest voice (b26-29) and is imitated an octave lower in the middle voice at a distance of three semibreves (b28-31).

The attribution of the motet Quid retribuam tibi, Leo to Isaac in the work's sole surviving source, the biographical ties with our composer and the stylistic links between this work and the earlier, safely attributed, motet all support the attribution of this work to Isaac.

Just doubts the attribution of the four-voice responsory setting Verbum caro factum est to Isaac largely on the basis of the work's transmission.¹⁵⁹ However, he was aware of only two of the work's sources: the choirbook Regensburg C.96 (dated 1550) and the partbooks Regensburg A.R.855-56 (ca. 1570-80). Just assumes that the partbooks (Regensburg A.R.855-56) were copied from the choirbook (Regensburg C.96) and on the basis of the large number of errors in the version transmitted in Regensburg A.R.855-56 casts doubt on the composer

¹⁵⁹

Just, 'Studien', I:60-61.

attribution in this source. He also points to the relative slightness of the work in comparison to Isaac's other responsory settings.¹⁶⁰

The piece is, however, transmitted in two further manuscript sources: Hradec 17 (late 16th century) without attribution and Budapest Pr.3 (dates 1615 and 1624 in manuscript) where the work is attributed to Isaac. This latter source comprises the psalm prints Psalmorum selectorum a praestantissimus (RISM 1553⁴), Tomus secundus Psalmorum (RISM 1553⁵), Tomus tertius Psalmorum selectorum (RISM 1553⁶) and Tomus quartus psalmorum selectorum (RISM 1554¹¹) together with manuscript additions which follow each print.¹⁶¹ The motet Verbum caro factum est and also the antiphon setting Veni sancte spiritus (see below) belong to these manuscript additions. Neither work is transmitted in the printed sources.

Analysis of the cantus firmus treatment in Isaac's chant settings, shows marked stylistic similarities between the responsory setting Verbum caro factum est and the antiphon setting Cum esset desponsata mater, the attribution of which is not questioned by Just (see chapter two). Both works set the chant cantus firmus in the highest voice in predominantly semibreve values. Given the attribution of the motet Verbum caro factum est to Isaac in both Regensburg A.R.855-56 and Budapest Pr.3, together with the correspondence in style between this work and

¹⁶⁰ ibid., I.140. Compare. Verbum caro factum est 85 bars; Accessit ad pedes Jesu 156 bars; Judea et Jerusalem 164 bars; Quae est ista 191 bars; Discubuit Jesus (unseen)

¹⁶¹ Census-Catalogue, see also Murányi, 'Die Bartfelder Musiksammlung in ihrer Zeit', 25; Murányi: 'Neuere Angaben über die Bartfelder Sammlung'; Steude, 'Bartfelder Handschriften', MGG2.

the antiphon setting Cum esset desponsata mater, I see no reason to question the attribution of the responsory setting.

In addition to the manuscript Budapest Pr.3, the antiphon setting Veni sancte spiritus is also transmitted in the printed source Geminae undeviginti osarum Horatii melodiae ... cum selectissimis carminum (Christian Egenolff 1551) (RISM 1551⁷).¹⁶² The work is attributed to Isaac in both sources. Just, who was aware of only the printed source, casts doubt on the work's authenticity.

Späte Überlieferung sowie schematische und phantasiearme
Satzweise lassen an der Echtheit zweifeln.¹⁶³

Here also the additional attribution to Isaac in the Budapest manuscript may support the attribution in the printed source. Isaac's authorship may therefore be considered relatively safe.

In summary, the re-examination of the sources and attributions of Isaac's motets allows several works classified as dubia by Just to be safely attributed to our composer. I suggest that on the basis of transmission and style the following motets may now be safely ascribed to Isaac: Discubuit Jesus; Quid retribuam tibi, Leo; Salve virgo sanctissima; Veni sancte spiritus; and Verbum caro factum est. The authorship of several motets remains uncertain. These include two unica, Dies est laetitiae and Gentile spiritus, for which the absence of any supporting attributions in other sources leaves their authorship in some doubt, as

¹⁶² This work has not been seen

¹⁶³ Just, 'Studien', I:160.

well as the motets Illumina oculos meos and Ista est speciosa both of which are attributed to Isaac in late and, in the case of the latter work, unreliable sources.

Chapter 2

Cantus firmus treatment in Isaac's

chant settings

Introduction

Two studies which investigate cantus firmus treatment in the fifteenth century serve as a useful introduction to this discussion. Edgar Sparks' study Cantus firmus in mass and motet¹ offers a general overview of cantus firmus treatment in the fifteenth century while Martin Just's study of the manuscript Berlin 40021 includes detailed analysis of cantus firmus techniques in the music of this source.² As we have seen, this manuscript has particular relevance for Isaac research.³

Both authors recognise two principal types of cantus firmus. Sparks distinguishes between a "structural cantus firmus" and "cantus firmus elaboration". His definition of a structural cantus firmus is

one which is laid out in a rigid pattern, and which serves as a skeleton or "framework" upon which a composition can be erected ... Since such a framework was usually given to the tenor, I also refer to it more loosely as "tenor c.f."⁴

In the 15th-century motet genre, this type of cantus firmus treatment is associated above all with the tenor motet. Here the borrowed cantus firmus - which may be secular, sacred or artificial - is placed in extended note values in

¹ Sparks, Cantus firmus in Mass and Motet

² Just, Der Mensuralkodex Mus. ms. 40021, see esp. chapters C, D and E (131-251).

³ For a discussion of Isaac autographs in this source see Just, 'Ysaac de manu sua' and Owens, 'An Isaac Autograph'; see also chapter one of this study.

⁴ Sparks, Cantus firmus, 42

the tenor voice. The rhythmic augmentation destroys the phrase structure of the borrowed melody and the cantus firmus is used simply as a sequence of pitches. The simultaneous sounding of two different texts is also characteristic of the tenor motet. The tenor voice sings the text associated with the cantus firmus while the outer voices sing a different, though often related, text.

A cantus firmus elaboration is defined by Sparks as

the process by which a composer quotes a melody faithfully enough, but elaborates it freely as he goes along.⁵

Here the melody or cantus firmus is almost without exception plainchant. In these works the phrase structure of the chant is retained. The chant is transformed into a singable, measured melody and the "important structural goals" of the chant are preserved.⁶ In the cantus firmus elaboration, the text of the cantus firmus is the text of the setting. Sparks also describes the "strict cantus firmus" or the "cantus firmus with contrapuntal setting".⁷ These are settings in which the chant cantus firmus is presented in long notes of equal value and is thus set apart rhythmically from the outer voices. Here again the text of the cantus firmus is the text of the whole.

"Cantus prius factus" is used by Martin Just as a generic term for a borrowed melody. He identifies 79 "motettische Werke" with cantus prius factus in the

⁵ *ibid.*, 42.

⁶ *ibid.*, 84.

⁷ *ibid.*, 91.

manuscript Berlin 40021. Two types of *cantus prius factus*, *cantus firmus* and *cantus planus*, are immediately identified. A *cantus firmus* is described as:

... ein *Cantus prius factus*, der sich, breit und regelmäßig mensuriert, von seinen Nebenstimmen abhebt und dem Ganzen also gerüstartige Bezugstimme dient.⁸

This may be seen as equivalent to Sparks' structural *cantus firmus* and is associated with the tenor motet. Just identifies 18 *cantus firmus* settings in the manuscript Berlin 40021.⁹

A *cantus planus*, on the other hand, is a *cantus prius factus* which moves in equal note values, breves or semibreves, but which is not necessarily set apart rhythmically from the accompanying voices.

Unter "*Cantus planus*" ... verstehen wir einen *Cantus prius factus*, der sich in gleichmäßigen Notenwerten, in Breven oder Semibreves, fortbewegt und sich dabei nicht notwendig vom Bewegungsgrad seiner Nebenstimmen abhebt.¹⁰

A *cantus planus* setting invariably sets plainchant. Just identifies sixteen "*Cantus-planus-Bearbeitungen*" in Berlin 40021. These are three and four-voice settings of responsories, hymns, antiphons (etc.) where the chant appears, normally in breves, in a single voice. The chant is stated in a continuous flow of pitches uninterrupted by rest or pause of any kind. In several settings, the *cantus prius factus* is copied into the manuscript in chant notation.¹¹

⁸ Just, *Der Mensuralkodex*, I.134.

⁹ *ibid.*, I:222-3.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, I:135.

¹¹ *ibid.*, I.138.

More flexible handling of the *cantus prius factus*, however, characterises the majority of chant settings in the manuscript Berlin 40021. Forty-five works are described under the heading "Der Cantus prius factus zwischen Cantus planus und freier Andeutung".¹² In these works, the rhythmic setting of the chant is much freer and pitches additional to the chant are also introduced into the chant statement. The *cantus prius factus* is treated phrase by phrase, with rests often marking the ends of phrases, rather than as a seamless sequence of pitches. Various different types of setting are seen ranging from simple hymn settings where the *cantus prius factus* appears in the superius voice in equal note values, its phrase structure defined through rests and cadences to more elaborate settings where the *cantus prius factus* is imitated through all the voices as, for example, in Isaac's sequence setting Sanctissimae virginis.¹³

Despite the variety of styles, the primary aim of each setting is the same - the presentation of the chant.

Choral- und besonders Cantus-planus-Bearbeitungen, so verschiedenartig sie im einzelnen aussehen mögen, konvergieren in der Absicht, den choral ausgeschmückt darzustellen. Die liturgische Funktion der einstimmigen Weise ist zugleich Sinn und Zweck des mehrstimmigen Ganzen. Wort und Ton gehören zusammen.¹⁴

To summarise, both authors distinguish between two types of *cantus firmus*:

¹² *ibid.*, I:197-219 (chapter D).

¹³ *ibid.*, I:209, see also II:179 for a facsimile of this piece; EDM 78:250-55

¹⁴ Just, Der Mensuralkodex, I 221.

- (1) the structural cantus firmus (Sparks) or the cantus firmus (Just). This forms the structural framework of the tenor motet. This type of cantus firmus treatment is not associated with Isaac's chant settings;
- (2) the cantus firmus elaboration (Sparks) or Choralbearbeitung (Just). The chant is shaped into a melodic line without destroying its essential structural features. The chant is elaborated through melodic and rhythmic embellishment. In strict cantus firmus settings (Sparks) or Cantus planus Bearbeitungen (Just), the chant appears in equal note values in a single voice.

Cantus firmus treatment in Isaac's chant settings

All of Isaac's chant settings may be broadly considered cantus firmus elaborations. The chant provides the cantus firmus and text of each work. However, further distinction may be made between the different types of cantus firmus treatment in these works. I distinguish between the following types of cantus firmus treatment (see table 2.1).

(1) Cantus firmus repeated

In three of Isaac's chant settings, the cantus firmus is repeated. This type of cantus firmus treatment is not seen in any other of Isaac's chant settings. The repetition is distinct from the type of repetition through imitation seen in some of Isaac's more elaborate chant settings, for example, Ave sanctissima Maria or Anima mea liquefacta est. Here the complete chant

is repeated and the repetition in each case is achieved through specific compositional techniques such as migration or canon.

(2) Cantus firmus in notes of equal value

There is just one example of a cantus planus setting amongst Isaac's work - the Marian antiphon setting Salve regina I. In this work, the chant melody is presented in equal note values in the tenor voice.

(3) Free cantus firmus elaborations

The majority of Isaac's chant settings may be termed free cantus firmus elaborations. In these works, the chant melody is clearly identifiable in one, two or more voices, freely elaborated with melodic and rhythmic embellishment. The chant statement is the primary concern. The dimensions of each work are determined by the chant and the cantus firmus statement is neither interrupted nor repeated.

(4) Chant fantasias

Less exact setting of the chant cantus firmus is seen in these works. Here, a complete statement of the cantus firmus is not seen. The chant melody is referred to only spasmodically and episodes of cantus firmus free counterpoint are evident.

(5) Chant settings in motet-like form

In several works, features more commonly associated with the motet than with the chant setting begin to emerge. This is seen most conspicuously in the works' division into sections and is also seen in the presence of motet-like passages of text setting - where prominence is lent to certain text phrases through the use of repeated chords in all voices, syllabic declamation and fermata held chords - as well as in a significantly more flexible treatment of the cantus firmus which allows the chant statement to be repeated and interrupted.

Five works which set unidentified cantus firmi are listed in table 2.2. This table also lists three works which have been preserved in fragmentary form only and are consequently not discussed here.

Table 2.1: CANTUS FIRMUS TREATMENT IN ISAAC'S CHANT SETTINGS

1. Cantus firmus repeated

Argentum et aurum
Ecce sacerdos magnus
Inviolata, integra et casta

2. Cantus firmus in notes of equal value

Salve regina I

3. Free cantus firmus elaborations

(a) Cantus firmus in superius

Cum esset desponsata
Dies est laetitiae
Veni sancte spiritus
Verbum caro factum est

(b) Cantus firmus in bassus

Judea et Jerusalem
Tristitia vestra vertatur

(c) Migrating cantus firmus

Gaude, Dei genitrix
Sancta Maria Virgo

(d) Cantus firmus in tenor and superius

Accessit ad pedes Jesu
Quae est ista

(e) Cantus firmus in imitation

Christus surrexit
Defensor noster aspice
Te mane laudum carmine
Virgo prudentissima (a4)

Table 2.1 (cont'd)**4. Chant fantasias**

Ave regina caelorum
 Salve regina II

5. Chant settings in motet-like form

Alma redemptoris mater
 Anima mea liquefacta est
 Ave sanctissima Maria
 Regina caeli laetare
 Tota pulchra es

Table 2.2:**a) Unidentified cantus firmi**

Hodie deus (fragment)
 Hodie scietis
 O Maria mater Christi
 Sub tuum praesidium
 Parce domine

b) Fragments

Hodie deus
 Discubuit Jesus
 Ista est speciosa

1. Cantus firmus repeated

**Argentum et aurum
Ecce sacerdos magnus
Inviolata, integra et casta**

These three works are arguably the earliest of all of Isaac's extant compositions.¹⁵ They are transmitted together in the manuscript Munich 3154 appearing in a group at the end of fascicle seven (Argentum et aurum fol. 72'-73, Ecce sacerdos magnus fol. 73'-74, Inviolata integra et casta fol. 74').¹⁶ The paper on to which they are copied has been dated c.1476.¹⁷ This is an exceptionally early date for Isaac, predating the earliest extant archival reference (Innsbruck, 1484) to the composer by some eight years.¹⁸ An early date of composition for these works is supported by their appearance in contemporary and related manuscript sources (see chapter one, table 1.1). In addition to Munich 3154, the antiphon setting Argentum et aurum is also transmitted anonymously in two contemporary manuscripts: Leipzig 1494, the so-called Apel codex, a manuscript compiled before 1504, the year in which it was bound, as well as in the music fragments Linz 529. This last manuscript probably originated at Innsbruck c.1490-92.¹⁹ The antiphon setting Ecce sacerdos magnus is transmitted exclusively in contemporary, central European sources. The work appears with contrafactum text, "Ecce dilectus meus", in both Leipzig 1494 and Berlin 40021. The motet is copied in the fifth layer of this last manuscript

¹⁵ For a full discussion of the transmission of these works see this study chapter one

¹⁶ Editions of all three works are published in EDM 80:249-64.

¹⁷ Noblitt, 'Die Datierung der Handschrift'.

¹⁸ Staehelin, Die Messen, II:19.

¹⁹ Strohm, 'Native and Foreign Polyphony', 229-30; see also Strohm, The Rise of European Music, 521 and 523.

which Just dates c.1485-88/90.²⁰ The sequence setting Inviolata, integra et casta is transmitted in Munich 3154 and in one other printed source, Petrucci's Motetti a cinque libro primo of 1508 (RISM 1508¹).

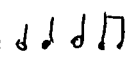
Argentum et aurum

In Isaac's setting of the antiphon "Argentum et aurum" in festo SS Apostolorum Petri et Pauli the cantus firmus is stated three times.²¹ The chant appears firstly in the superius voice, then migrates to the bassus voice and is heard for a final time in the tenor voice. Isaac sets each statement of the chant exclusively in breve values. Rests are introduced between phrases as follows: Argentum / et aurum / non est mihi / quod autem habeo / hoc tibi do. The cantus firmus statement is thus clearly distinguished rhythmically from the much shorter average note values of the accompanying counterpoint. In Munich 3154 each statement of the chant is ligatured so that every syllable of the chant text may be correctly placed. By contrast, in Leipzig 1494, where the work is transmitted without text, each statement of the chant is ligatured differently and in such a way that the antiphon text would not fit.²² The more accurate ligatures in the Munich source, together with its earlier dating, appear to support the priority of this source.

²⁰ Just, Der Mensuralkodex, II:20.

²¹ The work is discussed extensively in Just, 'Studien', I: 99-103; see also Strohm, The Rise of European Music, 523, 526.

²² The Linz fragments have not been seen.

At only one point in the composition is reference made to the cantus firmus in the accompanying counterpoint. The chant phrase "non est mihi" is imitated in the superius voice during the bassus chant statement (b49,3-53,3) (see also below p.104-05). This instance aside, the accompanying voices make no reference to the cantus firmus. Their counterpoint comprises brief phrases with short-lived imitation and much repetition. Certain rhythmic figures recur throughout the work in the accompanying voices. The rhythmic figure  is first seen in the tenor and bassus voices during the superius chant statement. The phrase is repeated and imitated in the two lower voices over a passage of some 19 bars (b13-31). The rhythm is next seen in the upper three voices above the bassus chant statement (b54-59) and returns for a final time in an extended passage of imitative counterpoint again between all three non chant-carrying voices during the tenor chant statement (b79-97).

Previous authors have noted the stylistic similarities between Isaac's Argentum et aurum and two other chant settings transmitted in the Apel codex (Nos. 104 and 106).²³ In these works the cantus firmus is again stated three times and in the same sequence of voices, superius, bassus and tenor. It seems likely that one work served as a model for the other two.²⁴ Reinhard Strohm points out that the transmission of Argentum et aurum in the manuscript Munich 3154 appears to lend this work chronological priority. Strohm asks

²³ See Just, 'Studien', I:102-03, Strohm, The Rise of European Music, 526.

²⁴ A similar instance of emulation may be observed between Isaac's antiphon setting Salve regina I and the anonymous sequence setting Benedicta semper sancta sit Trinitas which also share stylistic similarities (see also below).

But if Isaac was not yet present in the area how could he have invented such an ingenious, logical development of the German monorhythmic style?²⁵

Ecce sacerdos magnus

The antiphon setting Ecce sacerdos magnus is transmitted only in the manuscript Munich 3154 with the chant text.²⁶ The work is copied in Leipzig 1494 and Berlin 40021 with the text "Ecce dilectus meus", from the Song of Songs.²⁷ The antiphon "Ecce sacerdos magnus" in commune Confessoris Pontificis is the only chant set by Isaac which is taken from the Common of the Saints.²⁸ Three-fold statement of the cantus firmus is also seen in this work. In the first two statements, the chant is set in canon, firstly between the upper pair and then between the lower pair of voices. In the final statement, each phrase of the chant is imitated in turn through all the voices.

Isaac divides the antiphon into three phrases: Ecce sacerdos magnus / qui in diebus suis / placuit Deo et inventus est justus. The work opens with the chant melody in canon between the superius and altus voices. The altus voice follows the superius at a breve's distance and a fifth below the superius pitch. The statement begins in semibreve values. The rhythmic contrast between the chant-carrying voices and the accompanying counterpoint is therefore less marked than in Argentum et aurum where the cantus firmus appears in breves. In Ecce

²⁵ Strohm, The Rise of European Music, 526.

²⁶ Just, 'Studien', I:107-08; Just, Der Mensuralkodex, I:210

²⁷ Cant. Cant. 2:10-14

²⁸ AP 265'

sacerdos magnus a short melismatic flourish in both chant-carrying voices on the penultimate syllable of the final chant phrase breaks both the canon and the uniform rhythmic setting of the chant. It also marks the point where the setting ceases to be exclusively syllabic.²⁹

The chant then migrates to the lower pair of voices. The second statement begins as an exact repetition of the first. The canon quickly gets out of step, however, as the tenor voice enters a bar early on the second phrase "qui in diebus suis" and the subsequent bassus entry is then delayed. The second and third phrases run together in the bassus voice.

The counterpoint which accompanies the initial two chant statements makes no reference to cantus firmus material. Short-lived imitation is seen between the accompanying voices, especially between the superius and altus during the second chant statement (see b20-24; b37-39). In the final statement, each phrase of the cantus firmus is imitated in turn through all the voices. The chant statement now blends rhythmically and melodically into the contrapuntal texture. The melody appears in shorter note values than in the previous two statements and is decorated with passing notes. Each phrase is stated in turn by all voices, the successive entries neatly dovetailing one another. The pattern of entries is consistent - tenor, superius, bassus, altus - with tenor and superius voices singing the chant at pitch and the bassus and altus voices at the fifth. The piece ends

²⁹ The chant text is set syllabically in the first two phrases with the exception of a single two-note ligatured melisma on "diebus" in the second phrase.

with a short triple section which makes no reference to the chant. Imitation is seen between the superius and tenor voices.

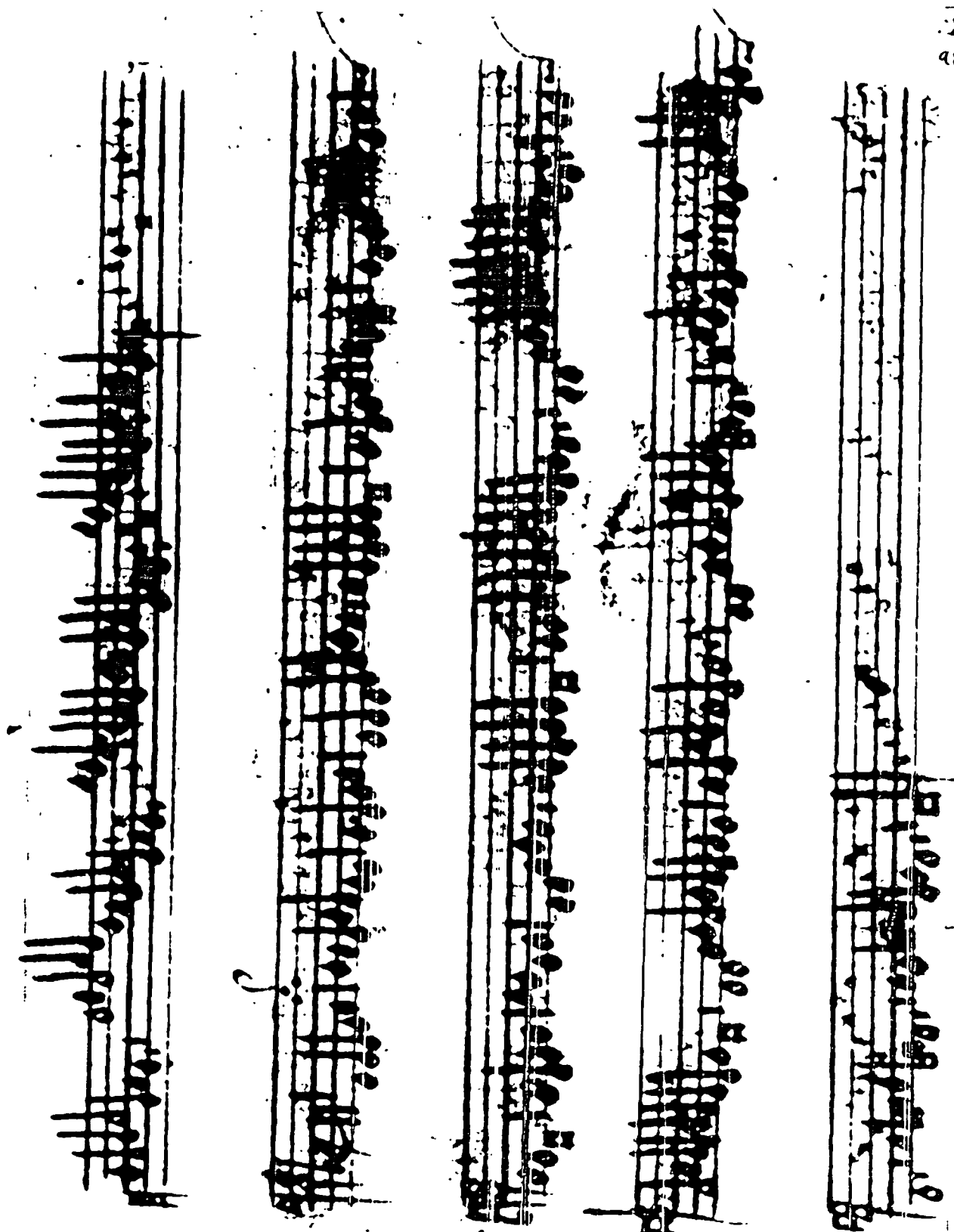
Inviolata integra et casta

This five-voice sequence setting has been preserved incompletely.³⁰ The earliest of its two sources, Munich 3154, lacks both the bassus and second altus voices. The second altus part-book of Petrucci's print Motetti a cinque libro primo (RISM 1508¹), the work's other source, is also missing. The following canon appears in the Munich manuscript alongside the contra tenor primus part, "Qui cum me fugatur in diapason intonatur" indicating that the chant-carrying voice is to be imitated at the interval of an octave. A signum congruentiae in the manuscript marks the entry of the second canonic voice (see example 2.1).

Isaac divides the sequence into a series of short phrases which the canonic voice imitates at two breves' distance. There is little rhythmic distinction between the cantus firmus voices and the non chant-carrying voices. The sequence is set predominantly in semibreve and minim values with occasional shorter passing notes. Melodic embellishment of the chant occurs more noticeably in the latter part of the work (from "nostra ut pura" onwards).³¹

³⁰ Just, 'Studien', I.105-06.

³¹ Note also the following amendments to the text underlay in the edition of this work published in EDM 80:257-64: the phrase texted in the edition "Tua per precata" should be texted "corda et ora" (b74-79), the phrase "dulci sona" should be texted "Tua per precata" (b79-84); the phrase "nobis" should be texted "dulci sona" (b85-89); the phrase "concedas veniam" should be texted "nobis concedas veniam" (b89-95).



Conae Qui in me jagit a
india pafon in amur

Example 2.1 : Munich 3154 *Involuta, integra et casta*, fol. 74'

In this work the accompanying voices are structurally much more significant. At the opening of the work, bassus and superius voices anticipate the cantus firmus entry paraphrasing the first phrase of the sequence "inviolata integra et casta". This type of quite extensive pre-imitation of the cantus firmus is unusual in Isaac's chant settings. It may be likened to the anticipation of the cantus firmus entry which is characteristic of motet and mass compositions. Cantus firmus material is seen in the outer voices of Inviolata integra et casta at only one other point. The phrase "Quae nunc flagitant" is heard in both canonic voices (b67-73) and is also imitated in the superius voice (b71-73). In this way, the superius acts briefly as a third canonic voice.

The outer voices make extensive use of imitation and repetition. The canonic imitation between the two inner voices coupled with the non-chant based imitation between the outer voices frequently results in paired imitation. In these instances, the bassus voice is consistently paired with the contra tenor primus and the superius with the tenor voice. For example, the phrase "Es Maria" is sung by the contra tenor primus in counterpoint with the bassus (b16-17). Their two-part counterpoint is then imitated in the tenor and superius voices (b18-19). The following phrase "Quae es effecta" is treated similarly. Other instances occur at: b20-1/22-3; b55-6/57-8; b91-2/93-4; b105-6/107-8; b110-101/112-113.

The internal melodic repetitions of the sequence are carefully avoided by Isaac as he varies with slight melodic and rhythmic alterations the setting of the

repeated phrases (compare for example "Nostra ut pura pectora" (b55-59) with "Quae nunc flagitant corda et ora" (b67-71)). Repeats are seen, however, in the accompanying voices. For example, the outer voice accompaniment to the phrase "quae es effecta" (b20-26) is repeated as accompaniment to the phrase "nostra ut pura" (b55-61). The last two phrases "inviolata / per mansisti" also have the same accompaniment.

The repetition of the chant cantus firmus thus distinguishes these three works from all other of Isaac's chant settings. Furthermore, the antiphon settings Argentum et aurum and Ecce sacerdos magnus are peculiar amongst Isaac's chant settings in that both works are underlaid in the manuscript Munich 3154 with texts additional to the chant text. Only the superius part of both works is texted in this source.³² As examples 2.2 and 2.3 show, both works open with the chant melody in the superius voice underlaid with the chant text. Once the chant statement ends, the remainder of the superius voice in both works is underlaid with texts that are additional to the chant text. These texts are given below (see table 2.3).

Table 2.3:

Argentum et aurum

Antiphon text:	Argentum et aurum non est mihi quod autem habeo hoc tibi do. ³³
Discantus text:	Argentum et aurum non est mihi quod autem habeo hoc tibi do. Petrus quidem servabatur in carcere: oratio autem fiebat pro eo sine intermissione ab Ecclesia Dei. Angelus

³² The tenor voice in Ecce sacerdos magnus is copied with textual incipit "Ecce sacerdos". This instance apart, all lower voices in both works are copied without text.

³³ Apostles 3:6

Handwritten musical score on five staves, featuring dense notation and Latin lyrics. The text is written in a Gothic script. The lyrics are:

Angeli et omnes sancti dei patres
 in excelsis deo autem in gloria
 no ab eis de Angelis autem in gloria
 fides in excelsis deo autem in gloria
 in excelsis deo autem in gloria

The notation consists of square neumes on four-line red staves. The lyrics are written below the staves, with some words appearing above the staves. The score is a single system, with the lyrics continuing across the staves.

Example 2.2: Munich 3154 Argentum et aurum, fol. 72'

autem Domini lumen refulsit in habitaculo carceris,
percussoque latere Petri, excitavit eum et surrexit
velociter.³⁴

Ecce sacerdos magnus

Antiphon text: Ecce sacerdos magnus qui in diebus suis placuit deo et inventus est iustus.³⁵

Discantus text: Ecce sacerdos magnus qui in diebus suis placuit deo et inventus est iustus. Beatus servus, quem cum venerit dominus invenerit vigilantem. Amen dico vobis, super omnia, constitues eos principes super omnem terram, memores erunt nominis tui domini in omni generatione et progenie.³⁶

These 'extra' texts are seen only in this source. Ecce sacerdos magnus is transmitted in both its other manuscript sources with the text "Ecce dilectus meus" while the copy of Argentum et aurum in Leipzig 1494 is textless. Additional texts such as these are seen in no other of Isaac's chant settings.

The texting of these works raises several questions. Assuming that in both works the superius voice sings the text with which it is underlaid, what text then do the lower voices sing, if these parts are to be texted at all? Do the bassus and tenor voices sing the chant text as the chant melody migrates into their parts? It seems likely that the superius should sing the text with which it is underlaid. In Argentum et aurum two instances of careful text underlay support this assumption. Firstly, the antiphon melody is carefully ligatured in the superius

³⁴ Apostles 12:5,7.

³⁵ Ecclesiastics 44:16,17.

³⁶ Matthew 24 46, 47, Psalm 44 17,18.

voice (as well as in bassus and tenor voices) so that each syllable of the chant text may be exactly placed.

The second instance concerns the imitation of the chant phrase "non est mihi" in the superius voice during the bassus chant statement (b49,3-53,3). This is the only point in Argentum et aurum where reference is made to the cantus firmus in the accompanying voices. The superius imitates in rhythmic diminution the bassus phrase "non est mihi" - the bassus statement is in breves and the superius in semibreves. The division of the phrase in the superius voice into semibreves, means that the chant text "non est mihi" no longer 'fits' the melody. (The bassus voice is ligatured so that each syllable of the phrase may be placed exactly.) Rather, the phrase of text copied immediately underneath the superius in the manuscript "autem fiebat pro eo" fits the eight semibreves perfectly. These two instances therefore serve as an indication that the superius should sing its own text.

Additional emphasis is given to the phrase "autem fiebat pro eo/non est mihi" by its scoring in the Munich manuscript. In this source, the phrase is copied in the superius part in double octaves. It is copied both at the lower octave - c' d' d' c' b b c' - as well as at the higher octave - c" d" d" c" b' b' c". The higher octave is copied directly above the lower (see example 2.2). This is most unusual and occurs only in this source. In Leipzig 1494 the phrase appears at the lower octave only. There does not appear to be any attempt by the scribe of the Munich manuscript to erase one or other of the octaves, as may have been the case if he

had simply made a copying error. The phrase may therefore have been intended to have been heard in double octaves or perhaps the double octaves were meant simply as alternatives.

Returning to the question of texting: given that the superius sings its own text and the bassus and tenor voices sing the chant text as the chant melody migrates into their voice parts, then two different texts are heard simultaneously. Bitextuality is a feature, as we have seen, associated with the motet rather than with the chant setting. Indeed, in several respects, all three works stand somewhat closer to the motet than to the chant setting. The repetition of the chant which occurs in all three works is untypical of the chant setting. The primary aim of the chant setting is the chant statement. By contrast, the focus of these works is directed on the compositional techniques through which the chant statement is achieved - migration, canon, imitation - rather than on the chant itself. In his discussion of Isaac's Ecce dilectus meus, Martin Just concludes that, given the reduction in importance of the chant statement, the work is best described as a Choralmotette:

... das Motettische hat die Darbietung des Chorals so weit in den hintergrund gedrängt, daß wir von einer Choralmotette sprechen dürfen.³⁷

Moreover, the texting of Argentum et aurum and Ecce sacerdos magnus is also untypical. No other chant setting by Isaac is transmitted with texts additional to the chant text (instances of contrafacta excluded). The additional texts strongly support the consideration of these works as motets. In addition, the sequence

³⁷

Just, Der Mensuralkodex, I 210

setting Inviolata intrega et casta is a work for five voices. Only a handful of Isaac's chant settings are composed for more than four voices (see for example, Christus surrexit a6; Regina caeli a5). Increased vocal textures is also a feature associated with the motet. Finally, the transmission of all three works in the Munich manuscript is exceptional. Not only the remarkably early copying date but also the grouping of all three works together in this source is most unusual.

Reinhard Strohm points out that the earliest extant archival reference to Isaac is a record of payment.³⁸ Hans Fuchsmagen, chancellor to Duke Sigismund of Tyrol, rewards Isaac as a composer in September 1484.³⁹ While I do not suggest that this payment is in any way connected with these works, all three works do seem, however, to bear the stamp of special compositions, pieces composed in or for particular circumstances. Perhaps an opportunity arose for this young composer to show off his musical talent and these three, technically impressive, works were the result. Certainly, to be recognised and paid as a composer in 1484, Isaac must surely have already made his mark as a musical talent.

³⁸ Strohm, The Rise, 538.

³⁹ Staehelin, Die Messen, II 19

2. Cantus firmus in notes of equal value

Salve regina I

This four-voice Marian antiphon setting is typical of the “monorhythmic cantus firmus style”.⁴⁰ The chant melody is presented in notes of equal value without pause in the tenor voice.⁴¹ The work is arguably one of Isaac’s earliest motets. It is transmitted exclusively in central European manuscript sources, the earliest of which is the manuscript Berlin 40021. In this source the work appears in layer fifteen which Just dates c.1492-95.⁴² The work is also transmitted, without attribution, in the related manuscript Warsaw 2016 as well as in the manuscript Basel F.IX.55, which dates from the first decade of the 16th century.⁴³ The work has been discussed extensively by previous scholars and will therefore be described only briefly here.⁴⁴

The work is in five sections with the antiphon melody appearing in breves in the tenor voice. The ϕ mensuration of the tenor voice means that the cantus firmus moves in semibreve values against which the outer voices move in triple time (O) in the opening section and in undiminished imperfect time (C) in the remaining sections.⁴⁵ The rhythmic distinction between the cantus firmus-carrying voice and the outer voices is therefore less pronounced than in many plainsong settings, compare, for example, the anonymous sequence setting

⁴⁰ Strohm, *The Rise*, 526.

⁴¹ EDM 77:236-41

⁴² Just, *Der Mensuralkodex*, II:29

⁴³ Kmetz, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Basel*, 176-80.

⁴⁴ Just, ‘Studien’, I:104; Just, *Der Mensuralkodex*, I:178-82; Maier, *Studien zur Geschichte*, 101-03

⁴⁵ For further discussions of tempo relationships in this work see this study chapter four

Benedicta semper sancta which is transmitted alongside Isaac's work in the manuscript Berlin 40021.⁴⁶

Isaac sets a Cistercian version of the *Salve regina* melody that is characterised most prominently by stepwise movement at the phrase "Et Jesum".⁴⁷ The chant version set here corresponds closely to that transmitted in Johannes Petreius' Responsoria, quae annuatim ... printed in Nuremberg in 1550 (fol. 148-150).⁴⁸ The chant melody appears without decoration in the tenor voice. In the Berlin manuscript, the tenor voice is ligatured so that each syllable of the antiphon text may be correctly placed.⁴⁹ An outline of the antiphon melody may be briefly discerned paraphrased in the superius voice at the very opening of the work. This instance aside, the cantus firmus appears exclusively in the tenor voice. There is no imitation of cantus firmus material in the accompanying voices.

The melodic repeat at the opening of the antiphon melody ("Salve regina misericordiae" = "vita dulcedo et spes nostra salve") prompts a repeat of the polyphonic setting (b1-10,2 = b13,3-22,2). Repetition of short melodic and rhythmic patterns is a feature of the accompanying voices throughout the work, especially in the altus, see, for example, the short repeated melodic figure in the altus b4-7 which returns later in the same section b15-18 and, most prominently, the repeated ostinato-like figure in the altus voice in the second section (b46-81). In the fourth section (b111-124), repetition is seen in all four voices: the chant

⁴⁶ This work is discussed in Just, Der Mensuralkodex, I:168-78, EDM 33 131-40

⁴⁷ Jean de Valois, 'Le "Salve regina"': see chapter three for full discussion of this chant version

⁴⁸ See chapter three, p.176-7 for full description of this chant source

⁴⁹ In Warsaw 2016, all the breves are notated separately in the tenor voice

cantus firmus involves a melodic repetition (O clemens = O pia) while each of the outer voices repeats its own short phrase (the altus here less consistently).

A contemporary account describes the performance of polyphonic settings of both the antiphon "Salve regina" as well as the sequence "Benedicta semper sancta" in the church of St Sebald in Nuremberg in 1479.

... hab ich peter Harsdorffer der Eltere ain Salve regina mit dem loblichen Sequentz Benedicta semper sancta durch (die Geistlichen), den Schulmeister oder Cantor, auch die knaben, die vor dem wirdigen sacrament singen, und andern knaben, die dartzu getzogen werden, zu singen gestiftt ... Und der gemelt gsang sol albeg in Mensuris mit vier stymmen gesungen werden, also das der Tenor bleib in seinen schleichten noten als man in singet Gregorianum mit ainem Contrapaß, einem Contraaltum und ainem discant ...⁵⁰

While it is unlikely that Harsdorffer was enjoying a performance of Isaac's work, it is interesting to observe that the description corresponds closely to the style of both Isaac's antiphon setting as well as to the anonymous sequence setting mentioned above.

⁵⁰

Wagner, 'Wilhelm Breitengraser und die Nürnberger Kirchen', 153-4

3. Free cantus firmus elaborations

(a) Cantus firmus in superius

**Cum esset desponsata mater
Dies est laetitiae
Veni sancte spiritus
Verbum caro factum est**

In these works the chant melody is carried by the superius voice. Two works, Cum esset desponsata mater and Verbum caro factum est, which are edited here for the first time, have many features in common.⁵¹ They are both Christmas pieces. Cum esset desponsata is a setting of the antiphon in vigilia nativitatis Domini⁵² and Verbum caro factum est is a responsory setting in festo nativitatis Domini.⁵³ Both works are for four voices and are relatively short (Cum esset desponsata - 51 bars, Verbum caro factum est - 85 bars). The extant sources of both works are of central European provenance and date from the mid-sixteenth to early-seventeenth centuries (see below).

Cum esset desponsata mater

This antiphon setting is preserved in five manuscripts and one printed source.⁵⁴ The work is attributed to Isaac in its earliest source, the Evangelia dominicorum et festorum dierum ... tomi primi of J Montanus and U Neuber, printed in Nuremberg in 1554 (RISM 1554¹⁰). The work is also transmitted in the manuscripts Regensburg A.R.840, A.R.855-56 and A.R.940-41.⁵⁵ The last two

⁵¹ See Appendix I.

⁵² AP 9.

⁵³ AP 13-13'.

⁵⁴ The work is discussed in Just, 'Studien', I.48, 115-16.

⁵⁵ Inventories of the Regensburg manuscripts are given in Haberkamp, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek Regensburg, 57-60, 70-2, 110-23 resp

manuscripts belong to a collection of polyphony which was copied in Regensburg over a short space of time, possibly by Erasmus Zollner, cantor at the Gymnasium Poeticum in Regensburg during the 1570s.⁵⁶ The work also appears in two manuscripts from Breslau: Wroclaw 14 (dtd 1626) and the tablature source Wroclaw 6 (dtd 1567).

In Isaac's setting, the antiphon melody appears in the superius voice. Isaac divides the chant into a series of short semantic units, as shown here:

Cum esset / desponsata / mater Jesu Maria Joseph / antequam /
convenirent / inventa est in utero habens / quod enim / in ea / natum est /
de spiritu sancto / est / alleluia

Cadences, usually between the superius and tenor voices, mark the end of the chant's phrases, invariably followed in the superius voice by a short rest. There is little melodic embellishment of the chant. Non-cantus firmus pitches are introduced in the superius voice primarily at cadences in stereotypical melodic formulas. There is little rhythmic distinction between the chant-carrying voice and the accompanying voices. Phrases in the superius voice tend to begin in semibreve values and shorter note values are introduced towards cadences. The lower voices move predominantly in semibreve and minim values. Very little cantus firmus material is seen in the lower voices. Only occasional, brief imitation or anticipation of the superius voice is seen and only in the tenor voice (for eg: b1-2; b12-13; b15-16; b19; b34-35). This type of treatment is always short-lived, restricted to the initial notes only of the chant phrases.

⁵⁶

Census-Catalogue, see also Hamm, 'Interrelationships', 8

Verbum caro factum est

The responsory setting Verbum caro factum est is stylistically very similar.⁵⁷ Here again the chant melody appears in the superius voice predominantly in semibreve values with little melodic decoration. The work divides, as do all of Isaac's responsory settings, into three sections, according to the structural divisions of the chant. The required repeat of the second section results in an ABCB form.⁵⁸ Much longer phrases are seen in the superius voice in this work than in Cum esset desponsata mater. The first section, for example, divides neatly into two halves. The first phrase "Verbum caro factum est et habitavit in nobis" is sung by the superius in one long phrase (b3-22) anticipated briefly in the tenor voice (b1-2). The phrase ends with a cadence to G at b22 which allows momentary broadening of rhythm in all four voices and a brief rest in the superius voice before the long melodic sweep of the second phrase "cuius gloriam vidimus quasi unigeniti a patre" (b23-43).

The much shorter Repetenda section also comprises two phrases. The cantus firmus entry "plenum gratia" in the superius voice in b47 is anticipated by both bassus and altus voices while the second phrase "et veritate" (b53-61) ends with a melismatic flourish in all voices. In the final section, the second chant phrase "et verbum erat apud deum" is sung not by the superius but by the altus voice. The chant reaches its melodic peak (f') in this phrase and the high tessitura probably accounts for its appearance in the altus voice. The high f' lies outside

⁵⁷ Just, 'Studien', I 61-2, I 140.

⁵⁸ For discussion of the responsory form see Schroder, Die Responsorienvertonungen des Balthasar Resinarius, 27, 51ff.; Boker-Heil, 'Die Motetten von Philippe Verdelot', 76-81; Mattfeld, Georg Rhaw's Publications for Vespers, 328-34; Just, 'Studien', I-130

of the vocal range of the superius voice (ambitus (c')d'-d''(e'')) and also of the tenor voice an octave below (ambitus d-d'(e')) and so Isaac simply moves the chant into the altus voice. The chant remains as the highest voice in the texture as the superius drops out of the counterpoint at this point, producing a noticeable change in texture and sound. The cantus firmus returns to the superius voice for the final two phrases "et Deus erat verbum / erat verbum" (b77-85).

Slightly more imitation of the chant melody is seen in the lower voices in Verbum caro factum est, than in Cum esset desponsata. Each section opens with anticipation of the cantus firmus in one or more of the lower voices. Also within sections, the beginnings of cantus firmus phrases are often anticipated, usually by the tenor voice (see b23 and b52-3).

The tonality of both settings is similar. Both chants are mode 8 with final on G. Cadences are much more frequent in the antiphon setting with its noticeably shorter phrases. In Cum esset desponsata almost 75% of cadences are to the final G, although cadences to D (b19), F (b23) and A (b39) may also be observed. In Verbum caro factum est cadences to G and D only are seen and in fairly equal measure. Similar voice ranges are seen in both settings. Superius and tenor voices move in the same range an octave apart, and likewise altus and bassus voices.

Verbum caro factum est

Sup	(c') d' - d'' (e'')
Alt	(e) g - g' (a')
Ten	d - d' (e')

	Bass	G - g (c')
<u>Cum esset desponsata mater</u>	Sup	d' - d''
	Alt	(f) g - g'
	Ten	d - d' (f)
	Bass	G - g (b)

The responsory setting is preserved in four manuscript sources.⁵⁹ It is attributed to Isaac in the manuscripts Regensburg A.R.855-56 (ca. 1570-80) and Budapest Pr.3 (dates 1615 and 1624 in manuscript) and is transmitted anonymously in its earliest source, the manuscript Regensburg C.96 (dtd 1550) as well as in Hradec 17 (late 16th century). Just doubts the work's attribution to Isaac largely on the basis of the work's transmission.⁶⁰ However, Just was aware of only two of the work's four sources, the part-books Regensburg A.R.855-56 and the choirbook Regensburg C.96. Just assumes that the part-books were copied from the choirbook and on the basis of the large number of errors in the version transmitted in Regensburg A.R.855-56 casts doubt on the composer attribution in this source. However the supporting attribution in the Budapest manuscript together with the marked stylistic similarities between this work and the antiphon setting Cum esset desponsata mater support the attribution of the responsory setting to Isaac.

The chant settings Veni sancte spiritus and Dies est laetitiae have not been seen.⁶¹ The first work is a setting of the antiphon in festo Penthecostes in which

⁵⁹ A full discussion of the transmission of this work is given in chapter one.

⁶⁰ Just, 'Studien', I.60-1, I.140 Just's reservations about the work's authenticity are noted in Picker, see A Guide, 94

⁶¹ The transmission of both works is discussed in chapter one.

the chant melody appears in semibreves in the superius voice.⁶² The work is transmitted in two sources, the manuscript Budapest Pr. 3 and the printed source Geminae undeviginti Odarum Horatii melodiae ... cum selectissimis carminum (Frankfurt a.M: Chrstian Egenolff, 1551) (RISM 1551⁷). In both sources the work is attributed to Isaac. Just, aware of only the printed source, doubts the attribution of the motet to Isaac.⁶³ The four-voice cantio setting Dies est laetitiae (in nativitate Domini) is attributed to Isaac in its unique source, the Eisenach Cantionale.⁶⁴ The relatively late transmission and the lack of any supporting attributions in other sources makes the work's attribution uncertain.⁶⁵

(b) Cantus firmus in bassus

Judea et Jerusalem Tristitia vestra vertatur

Judea et Jerusalem

Judea et Jerusalem is a four-voice setting of the Christmas responsory in vigilia nativitatis Domini.⁶⁶ Doubts concerning the attribution of this work to Isaac are discussed in chapter one and summarised briefly here. The work is transmitted in six manuscripts and one printed source (see chapter 1, table 1.9). The work's earliest source is the manuscript Dresden 1/D/505 in which it is attributed to Obrecht. The earliest source in which the work is attributed to Isaac is Petreius'

⁶² Just, 'Studien', I: 159-60.

⁶³ ibid., 160

⁶⁴ A discussion and inventory of this source is given in Schröder, 'Das Eisenacher Cantorenbuch'; see also Rollberg, 'Das Eisenacher Cantorenbuch'.

⁶⁵ See Just, 'Studien', I: 116-17 and discussion in chapter one of this study

⁶⁶ An edition of this work is included in Appendix I; see also Just, 'Studien', I 137-8

Modulationes aliquot quatuor vocum selectissimae of 1538 [RISM 1538⁷].

Two other sources, Heidelberg 318 (title only, copied from the Petreius print) and Regensburg A.R.838-843, also attribute the work to our composer. The reliability of the composer attributions in the manuscript Dresden/1/D/505, including the attribution of this work to Obrecht, have recently been questioned by Thomas Noblitt. He writes

Another piece ascribed to Obrecht, the responsory Judaea et Jerusalem, is probably not his either. It has been found in four other sources, but in none of those is it attributed to him. In two instances it is anonymous; in the other two (one of which is a printed source) it is credited to Isaac.⁶⁷

At the same time, however, the reliability of Petreius' attributions have also been questioned (see above). On the basis of its transmission, the attribution of this work to Isaac therefore lies in some doubt. A study of the cantus firmus treatment in this work further underlines the uncertainty of the work's author.

The chant melody appears in the lowest voice. However, the cantus firmus setting in this work is untypical of Isaac notably in its uncharacteristic disregard for the phrase structure of the chant. In Isaac's chant settings there is generally a correspondence of phrase structure between the chant and its appearance in the polyphonic setting. The semantic units of the chant are invariably kept intact in the polyphony and rests are often used to demarcate successive chant phrases. The chant determines the cadential structure of the polyphony. Cadences in the polyphony mark the end of chant phrases and cadential degrees are, by and large,

⁶⁷

Noblitt, 'Manuscript Mus 1/D 505', 278

also prescribed by the chant. Only rarely in Isaac's chant settings are cadence pitches not determined by those of the chant.

The chant statement in Judea et Jerusalem, by contrast, is frequently interrupted by untimely cadences and rests which appear in the middle of chant phrases. The "naturally developing singable measured form of the chant" which is so characteristic of Isaac's chant settings is not to be found here.⁶⁸ For example, the first chant phrase "Judea et Jerusalem" begins in the bassus voice in b6. However, the chant statement is interrupted in b13 by a cadence to D between the bassus and altus voices which is followed in the bassus voice by a breve rest. This close in the cantus firmus-carrying voice suspends the chant statement mid-phrase, interrupting the melisma on the word "Jerusalem". The phrase is continued in the bassus voice in b15 and ends in b19 with a cadence to E (note also the short minim rest in the bassus voice in b17).

Similar treatment is seen at the opening of the Versus section. This section opens with the phrase "Constantes estote". The bassus entry in b100 is anticipated by all three upper voices. The phrase in the bassus voice closes with a cadence to E in b106. The cadence and ensuing passage of imitative counterpoint between the three upper voices (b107-114), during which the bassus remains silent, again disrupts the chant statement. The last three notes of the opening phrase in the bassus voice (d-f-e (b104-106)) set the first three pitches of the melisma on the word "estote". It is not until b115 that the cantus

⁶⁸

Just, 'Polyphony based on Chant', 133.

firmitas statement is continued and the conclusion of the melisma is presented. The "guaranteed ... comprehensible rendering" which Just sees as essential to the successful setting of chant is sorely absent here.⁶⁹

It may be argued that this work sets a significantly different version of the responsory melody to that transmitted in consulted chant sources - AP, Augs, Nur 1509 and Nur 1550.⁷⁰ This may account for the discrepancies between the chant as it appears in these sources and its appearance in the polyphonic setting. All four chant sources transmit similar, although not identical, versions of the chant melody. All set identical melismas on the word "estote". It therefore seems probable that this work sets a version of the chant melody similar to that transmitted in these chant sources and that the composer has chosen to interrupt the chant statement in this way. This being the case, I would argue that it is unlikely that this chant setting was composed by Isaac.

It may also be argued that the constraint of placing the cantus firmus in the lowest voice has some bearing on the rather crude cantus firmus treatment seen in this setting. However, in similar contexts this is a technique with which Isaac appears completely familiar. For example, the bassus acts as cantus firmus carrying-voice time and again in the Choralis constantinus. The fifth introitus setting Sapientiam sanctorum of Commune de martiribus serves as a random example.⁷¹ In contrast to Judea et Jerusalem, here the chant melody is easily recognisable in the bassus voice. The semantic units of the chant are clear and

⁶⁹ *ibid.*, 148.

⁷⁰ For full discussion of these sources see chapter three

⁷¹ An edition of this work is published in Isaac CCIII, 103-5.

rests demarcate successive chant phrases. Judea et Jerusalem may, of course, be an earlier work than the Choralis constantinus and therefore less technically assured. However, it seems unlikely that this particular responsory setting stemmed from Isaac's pen. In matters of both style and transmission, the authenticity of this work lies in some doubt.

Tristitia vestra vertatur

This slight work is a three-voice setting of the antiphon "Tristitia vestra vertatur" ad Magnificat post Paschae.⁷² The work is transmitted in three manuscript and six printed sources (see table 2.4). The work's earliest source is probably the manuscript St Gall 462 in which it is transmitted anonymously. The copying of the work in this source has been dated c. 1510.⁷³ The work's earliest attributed source is the organ tablature of Johannes Kotter, Basel 22, a source considered generally unreliable for its composer attributions (see chapter one). However, Isaac's chant setting is the first piece entered in this source and may have been copied by Kotter himself. The following note appears in the manuscript "Manu sua scribebat Io Kotter musicorum musicotatos". John Kmetz dates the copying of the first layer of this manuscript 1513.⁷⁴

This is the only chant setting attributed to Isaac which is for three voices. The work does not, however, present a complete statement of the antiphon melody. In the chant source AR, the antiphon comprises four phrases: "Tristitia vestra /

⁷² Editions of this work are published in: SMd 5:68; SMd 6 3 (facs.); SMd 8 4; see also Just, 'Studien', I:52, I.168.

⁷³ SMd 5:p xi

⁷⁴ Kmetz, Die Handschriften den Universitätsbibliothek Basel, 75-84.

Table 2.4: Tristitia vestra vertatur: transmission

Source	Date	Attribution
St Gall 462 (Johannes Heer Liederbuch: Paris/Glarus) ⁷⁵	ca. 1510-30	anon
Tabl: Basel 22 (Johannes Kotter tablature) ⁷⁶	dtd 1513 (partly copied later)	Isaac
Tabl: St Gall 530 (Fridolin Sicher tablature) ⁷⁷	ca. 1512-21	Isaac
<u>Trium vocum carmina</u> (Nuremberg: H Formschneider) [RISM 1538 ⁹]	1538	anon
<u>Trium vocum cantiones centum</u> (Nuremberg: J Petreius) [RISM 1541 ²] ⁷⁸	1542	Isaac
Hans Newsidler <u>Das Dritt Buch. Ein new künstlich Lauten Buch</u> (Nuremberg: H Günther) [RISM 1544 ²⁵]	1544	anon
Benedikt de Drusina <u>Tabulatura continens insignes et selectissimas quasdam fantasias: cantiones germanicas, italicas, ac gallicas: passamezzo: choreas: & mutetas</u> (Frankfurt J Eichorn: Lute) [RISM 1556 ³²]	1556	anon
<u>Selectissorum triciniumorum</u> (Nuremberg: J Berg & U Neuber) [RISM [1560] ¹]	1560	Isaac
<u>Luculentum theatrum musicum</u> (Louvain: P Phalese Lute) Tristitia obsedit me [RISM 1568 ²³]	1568	anon

⁷⁵ SMd 5.

⁷⁶ SMd 6.

⁷⁷ SMd 8.

⁷⁸ A facsimile of this source is published in RMF 26.

vertatur in gaudium / et gaudium vestrum / nemo tollet a vobis alleluia."⁷⁹ In the polyphonic setting the first two phrases of the chant are clearly identifiable appearing in breves and semibreves in the lowest voice ("Tristitia vestra" (b7-15), "vertatur in gaudium" (b18-27)). Anticipation of the cantus firmus is seen in both upper voices at the opening of the piece (b1-7). The final phrase in the bassus voice (b30-37) repeats the text "vertatur in gaudium" but sets a different melodic phrase to the preceding one. This phrase does not correspond to any phrase of the chant melody. This last, unidentified phrase brings the work to a close. The cantus firmus treatment in this work is therefore untypical of Isaac's chant settings as is the three-voice texture, both features which raise doubts concerning the work's attribution.

(c) Migrating cantus firmus

Gaude, Dei genitrix Sancta Maria Virgo

These two antiphon settings are preserved uniquely in the manuscript Regensburg C.120 (the Pernner codex).⁸⁰ This manuscript is an important source for the work's of Isaac and also of Ludwig Senfl and has been the subject of a recent study by Rainer Birkendorf.⁸¹ The manuscript comprises two originally independent sections (section 1: nos 1-38; section II: nos 39-99). Birkendorf argues that the first section was copied in Innsbruck for the chapel of Maximilian I between 1518-19 by chapel member Lucas Wagenrieder and that

⁷⁹ AR 475.

⁸⁰ Neither work is included in Just, 'Studien'. Editions of both works are included in Appendix I.

⁸¹ Birkendorf, Der Codex Pernner. See also chapter one of this study.

the second section was copied, again by Wagenrieder, between 1520-21 in Augsburg following the dissolution of the Imperial chapel. It therefore seems likely that these two antiphon settings date from Isaac's period of employment at the chapel of Maximilian I. Editions of both works are included in Appendix I.

Gaude, Dei genitrix

Isaac's antiphon setting Gaude, Dei genitrix is not included in Just's dissertation but is discussed by Birkendorf.⁸² He, however, fails to recognise the cantus firmus on which the motet is based. He erroneously believes that the cantus firmus is carried by the tenor voice (which he reproduces as music example 23 I:243). He writes

Die Marienmotette "Gaude Dei genitrix" (Nr. 66) nimmt zwar Bezug auf den Cantus in honorem B. M. V. des Graduale Romanum ... doch hat Isaac die Melodie so sehr aufgelöst, daß ihre ursprüngliche Gestalt, die von der heute gebräuchlichen Version jedenfalls abweicht, nur versuchsweise rekonstruiert werden könnte. Es liegt wiederum eine Cantus-firmus-Bearbeitung vor, die weit von deutschen Verfahren entfernt ist und den Choral eher zu unterdrücken als hörbar zu machen sucht. Der Tenor zeigt in der Pausenbildung liedhafte Züge, kennt aber auch Wendungen, die an choraless Melos erinnern ...⁸³

The antiphon set in Isaac's motet is not, however, transmitted in the Graduale Romanum. Rather, a source for this chant is the contemporary chant source, the Neumarkt Cantional which dates from 1474/84.⁸⁴ The repertory of this Silesian source spans the whole of the liturgical year.⁸⁵ The antiphon "Gaude, Dei

⁸² Birkendorf, Der Codex Pernner, I 243-4.

⁸³ ibid., I:243.

⁸⁴ Schmitz, 'Ein Schlesisches Cantional'

⁸⁵ Strohm, The Rise, 332.

genitrix" is designated in festo assumptionis Beate Marie Virginis (fol. 132).⁸⁶

The antiphon melody is clearly identifiable in Isaac's work as it migrates through the tenor, bassus and superius voices, appearing most frequently in the tenor voice (see table 2.5).

Table 2.5: Gaude, Dei genitrix - migrating cantus firmus

Chant phrases	Voice	Bar
Gaude dei genitrix Virgo immaculata	Tenor	2 - 14
Gaude que ab angelo	Superius	14 - 18
Gaudium suscepisti. Gaude, que genuisti eterni luminis claritatem. Gaude, mater, gaude	Tenor	18 - 41
sancta dei genitrix	Bassus	42 - 47
Virgo tu sola mater innupta	Superius/Tenor	45 - 56
Te laudant facture	Superius	57 - 61
genitrix lucis	Tenor	63 - 66
Sis pro nobis, quesumus perpetua interventrix	Tenor	71 - 81
ad dominum Jesum Christum	Superius	83 - 93

In the Neumarkt Cantional, the chant ends with the phrase "perpetua interventrix". In Isaac's setting, however, this phrase (heard in the tenor voice

⁸⁶

A transcription of the chant is published in EDM 8:87. As a source for the antiphon Picker A Guide refers to the antiphon "Gaude dei genitrix" in the Antiphonale Sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae (AR) 125*. This is not the antiphon that Isaac sets. For further discussion of polyphonic settings of this chant see this study chapter three

(b76-81)) is clearly followed by one further chant phrase in the superius voice (b83-93) which brings the setting to a close. Isaac's work is transmitted in the Pernner codex with textual incipit only. A comparison of other polyphonic settings of this chant determines the text of this 'extra' phrase. A four-voice setting of the antiphon by Ludwig Senfl, transmitted uniquely in the manuscript Munich 12 and a three-voice anonymous setting transmitted in Trent 91 and the Glogauer Liederbuch both set this additional phrase to the text "Ad dominum Jesum Christum".⁸⁷

Isaac transforms the chant into a measured melodic line with minimal embellishment of the original melody. Much of the chant is set in breves and semibreves with pitches additional to the chant usually in shorter note values. Syllabic setting of the chant is frequent and allows the chant-carrying voice to be texted with relative precision. The chant statement is in no way disturbed by its migration through the polyphonic texture. The antiphon melody passes in phrases through the voices, each voice singing one or more complete phrases. The cantus firmus statement in each voice closes with a cadence before being taken up by another voice part.

Cantus firmus material is occasionally seen in the accompanying voices. At the opening of the piece the tenor cantus firmus entry is anticipated in diminution by the altus voice whose line is then imitated an octave higher by the superius after the tenor entry. The descending third interval a-g-f of "Gaude" is heard for a

⁸⁷

Senfl's motet is published in SenflW xi:59-64 ; the anonymous setting is published in EDM 8:31-2

final time, in minims in the altus voice (b5,4-6,2). Close anticipation of the cantus firmus is seen in bars 27-35. Here the chant appears in semibreves in the tenor voice in three short phrases "que genuisti / eterni / luminis claritatem". The bassus voice anticipates each tenor entry by one semibreve and a fourth below the tenor pitch. The tenor entry at b71 is anticipated by both the superius in b67, a fifth above, and more immediately by the bassus voice in b70, a fourth below and one semibreve before the tenor entry.

However, the only phrase subject to any significant, long-term imitation is the phrase "Virgo tu sola mater innupta" which occurs at the exact mid-point of the piece. It is heard firstly in the superius voice in dotted breve values, its entry overlapping the end of the previous chant phrase in the bassus voice ("sancta dei genitrix" b42-47). The tenor voice imitates exactly the superius line an octave below and at a distance of three breves. The two voices move entirely in parallel motion, mostly in parallel sixths. The high tessitura of both voices, the extended note values and the syllabic setting of the text easily make this the climax of the piece.

Sancta Maria Virgo

A different type of cantus firmus migration is seen in Isaac's four-voice setting of the antiphon "Sancta Maria Virgo" in nativitate sancte marie virginis.⁸⁸ In this work the migration of the cantus firmus through the polyphony disrupts the chant

⁸⁸

statement.⁸⁹ Table 2.6 outlines the appearance of the antiphon melody in this work.

Table 2.6: Sancta Maria Virgo - migrating cantus firmus

Chant	Voice	Bar
Sancta Maria Virgo intercede pro toto mundo	superius	1-30
Sancta Maria virgo intercede pro toto mundo	bassus	29-52
Sancta Maria virgo intercede pro toto mundo	tenor tenor tenor	52-62 64-70 72-79
quia genuisti regem orbis	superius	82-92
quia genuisti regem orbis	bassus	97-108
quia genuisti regem orbis quia genuisti regem orbis	tenor altus	108-115 108-117

As the table shows, Isaac handles the chant in two sections:

Sancta Maria virgo intercede pro toto mundo / quia genuisti regem orbis

At the opening of the work, the chant statement begins immediately in the superius voice. The chant phrases are separated by rests (Sancta / Maria virgo / intercede / pro toto mundo) and the breve and long values of the chant statement distinguish this voice from the accompanying counterpoint. No reference to the cantus firmus is made in the lower voices. The first section of the chant is then repeated in the bassus voice in slightly shorter note values (beginning in b29). During this statement of the chant, imitation of the cantus firmus is seen in the

⁸⁹ The work is discussed by Birkendorf, *Der Codex Perner*, I 227-8

upper voices. The phrase "intercede" is taken up and imitated in rhythmic diminution in all three upper voices above the chant statement. Similar treatment of the same chant phrase is seen during the tenor statement which begins in b52. This time, however, the cantus firmus-carrying voice takes an equal role in the imitative polyphony and consequently the chant statement is momentarily held up (see the repetition of the phrase "intercede" in the tenor voice (b64-70). The section ends with a cadence to G and a fermata-held chord in all voices.

The second section of the chant "quia genuisti regem orbis" migrates through the polyphony in the same sequence of voices - superius, bassus and tenor. The superius entry in b82 is anticipated by both the altus and bassus voices. During the final, tenor statement, the chant is heard simultaneously in the altus voice. This double cantus firmus statement begins with the phrase "quia" heard in octaves in the two voices while the following phrase, "genuisti regem", is closely imitated between the voices, at the interval of a fifth.

In certain respects the cantus firmus treatment seen in this work is untypical of Isaac. In no other work is the statement of the chant interrupted through the type of repetition seen here. In other works where the cantus firmus is repeated - in Argentum et aurum, for example, or Ecce sacerdos magnus - it is the complete chant that is repeated. Also, no other cantus firmus elaboration by Isaac is divided into sections through the use of fermatas. On the other hand, however, characteristic traits of Isaac's chant settings may be observed in this

work. The antiphon melody is set, on average, in longer note values than in the accompanying counterpoint and melodic and rhythmic embellishment of the chant is generally reserved for the ends of phrases. The important structural features of the chant are preserved. Cadences mark the end of most phrases and rests are introduced between phrases. The order in which the cantus firmus migrates through the voices - superius, bassus, tenor - is also identical to that seen in Isaac's antiphon setting Argentum et aurum. In this work, and also in Gaude, Dei genitrix, the altus voice is not used as a principal cantus firmus-carrying voice. These features together with the transmission of the work in a manuscript closely associated with Isaac and the Habsburg court support its attribution to our composer.

(d) Cantus firmus in tenor and superius

**Accessit ad pedes
Quae est ista**

Our discussion moves now to pieces in which imitation of the cantus firmus plays a structural role. Up this point, the works in group three (free cantus firmus elaborations) have been characterised by the chant's appearance in a single voice at a time and little cantus firmus material has been seen in the accompanying voices. Even in pieces in which the chant migrates through several voices, the role of principal chant-carrying voice has still been assigned to a single voice at a time. In these two responsory settings, by contrast, the role

of cantus firmus-carrying voice is shared between two voices simultaneously, tenor and superius. Cantus firmus material also appears in the accompanying voices to a much greater extent than has previously been seen.

Accessit ad pedes Jesu

The four-voice setting of the responsory "Accessit ad pedes Jesu" in festo Sanctae Mariae Magdalene⁹⁰ is attributed to Isaac in the work's earliest extant source the Modulationes aliquot quatuor vocum selectissimae, quas vulgo modetas vocant of Johannes Petreius printed in Nuremberg in 1538 [RISM 1538⁷].⁹¹ The work is also listed by title in the manuscript Heidelberg 318, copied from the Petreius print.⁹² The work is transmitted anonymously in two sixteenth century manuscripts, Stuttgart 33 (after 1544) and Leipzig 49/50 (dtd 1558). This work has been discussed extensively by Just and will therefore be studied only briefly here.⁹³

The chant melody appears in the tenor and superius voices often in slightly extended note values. This is especially noticeable at the opening of the piece where the chant statement begins in breves. Isaac exploits fully the variety of cantus firmus treatment which the increase in chant-carrying voices allows. For example:

⁹⁰ AP 172; and Nur 1509 XC-XC' (with prosula).

⁹¹ Teramoto and Brinzing, Katalog der Musikdrucke, 32.

⁹² This source not noted by Picker

⁹³ Just, 'Anschaulichkeit und Ausdruck in der Motette', where an edition of the work is presented, see also Just, 'Studien', 1 48, I:131-7

- a complete chant phrase may be sung in one voice and then imitated exactly in another: for example the first phrase "Accessit" is sung by the superius with altus counterpoint (b1-7). Their two-part counterpoint is then imitated exactly in the lower pair of voices, the tenor now acting as cantus firmus-carrying voice (b7-13);

- a phrase may be closely imitated between two voices: for example the phrase "ad pedes Jesu" (b13-19) is sung in close imitation at the octave between tenor and superius;

- a phrase may appear in one voice only: for example the phrase "peccatrix" is sung by the superius voice only (b20-26);

- the cantus firmus may also appear in the accompanying voices: for example the phrase "unde promeruit audire" is heard at pitch in the tenor voice (b33-38), is imitated in the altus a fourth below (b33-37) and is heard in diminution in the bassus voice an octave below (b38-41);

- the cantus firmus may be imitated between all four voices: at the opening of the Versus section the phrase "Dimissa", heard firstly in the tenor voice (b1-5) is imitated an octave higher by the superius (b3-8), and is then heard a fifth below the tenor pitch in the bassus (b5-11) and a fifth below the superius in the altus (b7-11).

The piece has an exceptionally clear phrase structure. This is nowhere more apparent than in the opening section which comprises six clear phrases;

Accessit / accessit / ad pedes Jesu / peccatrix / mulier / Maria

The meaning of the text is reflected symbolically in the perfectly balanced phrase construction. Each of the six phrases is exactly seven bars long, the number symbolically associated with Mary and mourning.⁹⁴ The final phrase only is extended by a single bar in the altus voice with the solo invocation "Maria". The affective gesture is further underlined through tonality. In this first section, each phrase, except the last, ends with a cadence to C. The ethereal quality of this tonal centre and its consistent reoccurrence is truly impressive. The F sonority of the section's final cadence is prepared and anticipated by the cadence to F which occurs between altus and bassus voices in b34.

Quae est ista

Isaac's four-voice setting of the responsory "Quae est ista" in festo assumptionis Beate Marie Virginis is the most extensive of all his responsory settings.⁹⁵ The work is attributed to Isaac in the Florentine manuscript Florence 232 and is transmitted anonymously in Dresden 1/D/505, Hradec 17 and the organ tablature St Gall 530. Interestingly, this is the only one of Isaac's responsory settings to be transmitted in a non-central European manuscript.⁹⁶ Both the responsory "Quae

⁹⁴ For discussion of number symbolism in relation to Mary see Elders, 'Music and Number in Token of the Holy Virgin', *Symbolic Scores*, 151-84.

⁹⁵ An edition of the work is published in SMd 8:236-9. An edition from the manuscript Dresden 1/D/505 is included in Appendix 1; see also Just, 'Studien', I:60, I:138-9 and Cummings, 'Bemerkungen zu Isaacs Motette', 180.

⁹⁶ For a discussion and inventory of the manuscript Florence 232 see Cummings, 'A Florentine Sacred Repertory'.

est ista"⁹⁷ and Isaac's setting are referred to by Heinrich Glarean who associates the chant with the diocese of Constance

... also "Quae est ista" which is frequently sung in the diocese of Constance, but in the formula of the Hypophrygian mode, according to which formula I remember seeing it increased to four voices by Heinrich Isaac.⁹⁸

This reference may well give an approximate date of composition for the piece. Isaac's presence in Constance between 1507-08 has been well established. He was certainly amongst Maximilian's retinue at the Reichstag held in the city between April-July 1507 for which occasion the motets Sancti spiritus assit and Virgo prudentissima (a6) were composed. (see below p.314-16). It seems possible that Quae est ista dates from about this time.

Table 2.7 outlines the chant's appearance in the polyphonic setting. Cantus firmus material permeates all four voices especially at the opening of each section. Although the cantus firmus does appear in the bassus and altus voices, the principal chant-carrying voices are the tenor and superius. Each section opens with the chant set in extended note values. However, within sections the chant statement is rhythmically well integrated with the accompanying counterpoint. There is generally little rhythmic distinction between the cantus firmus-carrying voices and the accompanying voices.

An exception to this is the setting of the long prosula in the Repetenda section. The text is set almost entirely syllabically and, except in the concluding triple

⁹⁷ AP 192-192' and Nur 1509 (with prosula).

⁹⁸ Glarean, Dodechachordon, I. 187.

metre section, in semibreve values. Melismatic flourishes are occasionally seen at the ends of phrases (see for example "pia grave"). The cantus firmus migrates through all voices beginning in the superius voice with the phrase "trinitatis conclave" (b76-79). The following phrase "Mater domini ave" is sung in the tenor voice (b79-82). Tenor and superius voices then imitate at the octave the phrase "dolens nostrum crimen pia grave" (b83-89). The following phrase of the cantus firmus "vivere da poscimus" is imitated at the octave between the bassus and altus voices (b90-96) after which the cantus firmus returns to the tenor voice. A short passage in triple meter concludes the Repetenda section. Here the text is set syllabically in all voices in lilting long-short rhythms. The cantus firmus appears in close imitation in the superius and tenor voices a fourth apart and at a breve's distance.

The closing bars of the opening Caput section are of particular interest. The penultimate phrase of this section "myrrhe" is heard in close imitation in the three upper voices. The phrase is passed repeatedly back and forth between the voices, appearing firstly in the tenor voice (b50-2), closely imitated at the octave by the superius (b51-3), which is imitated in turn by the altus (b54-6). This sequence of entries is then repeated. This type of extended imitation of a single chant phrase has not been seen previously. It anticipates similar passages of extensive imitation which occur at the close of sections in some of the more elaborate of Isaac's chant settings (see for example the close of the second section of Anima mea liquefacta est, discussed below).

Table 2.7: Cantus firmus in Quae est ista

Chant	Voice	Bar
<u>Caput</u>		
Quae est	altus	1-8
	bassus - at 5th	3-10
	tenor	6-16
	superius	8-15
ista quae ascendit	superius	16-21
per desertum	tenor (?)	22-33
sicut virgula fumi	bassus - at fifth	34-40
	superius	39-44
ex aromatibus	bassus - at fifth	45-48
	tenor	46-49
myrrhe	tenor	50-52
	superius	51-53
	altus	52-54
	tenor	53-55
	superius	54-56
	altus	55-57
et thuris	superius	57-61
	tenor - 4th below	56-61

Chant	Voice	Bar
<u>Repetenda</u>		
et universi	altus	62-68
	tenor	63-68
	superius	64-70
	bassus - 5th	66-72
pulveris	tenor	70-75
	superius	72-75
trinitatis conclave	superius	76-79
mater domini ave	tenor	79-82
dolens nostrum crimen }	tenor	84-89
pia grave }	superius	83-89
vivere da poscimus ave	bassus	90-96
	altus	91-96
cantantibus melos suave	tenor	98-102
precantibus veniam fave	tenor	103-107
te assumpta nobis }	superius - 4th	108-114
prompta fere petimus }	tenor	109-115
tandem ut simus caeli }	superius - 4th	116-123
cives mater dives }	tenor	117-123

Chant	Voice	Bar
<u>Versus</u>		
Ista	altus	124-128
	bassus	125-132
	superius	127-131
	tenor	128-131
est speciosa	tenor	131-136
inter	bassus - at fifth	137-140
	tenor	140-143
filias	tenor	144-145
	superius	145-147
hierusalem	tenor	147-150
sicut	tenor	151-154
	superius - at fourth	154-157
eam	tenor	156-159
	superius	157-160
plenam charitate	tenor	161-164
	superius	163-166
et dilectione	bassus	166-171
in cubilibus	tenor	172-175
et in hortis	tenor?	176-179
aromatum	tenor	180-183

(e) Cantus firmus in imitation

**Christus surrexit
 Defensor noster aspice
 Te mane laudum carmine
 Virgo prudentissima (a4)**

In these works the cantus firmus appears in imitative counterpoint in all voices. Cantus firmus material is thus diffused through the entire texture. The role of cantus firmus-carrying voice is no longer assigned to one or two specific voices but is now shared between all voices. Despite the reiteration of each chant phrase through the texture, the dimension of each work remains similar to works discussed previously. Each work begins and ends with the chant statement and thus the length of each piece is largely determined by the length of the chant. All four works are in one section only.

Christus surrexit

The choirbook Munich 31 transmits, as well as four mass settings, Proper settings, which are mostly introits, for the major feasts of the church year. This manuscript was copied c.1510 for use by the Imperial court chapel of Maximilian I.⁹⁹ All the works in this source are by Isaac and, except for the five-voice antiphon setting Regina caeli, are for six voices.¹⁰⁰ Two Easter pieces - Christus surrexit (f. 186'-189) and Christ ist erstanden (f. 189'-192) - set the

⁹⁹ An inventory of the manuscript is published in Bente et al., Katalog der Musikhandschriften, 133-5; see also Bente, Neue Wege, 50-55 and Census-Catalogue.
¹⁰⁰ The attribution of all the works in the manuscript to Isaac is understood from the title which prefaces the collection: "Missa sex vocum / Virgo prudentissima / Solenne & de Apostolis. / De beata virgine. / Introitus sumis festivitatisbus 10 / regina celi: ysac" as well as by one other attribution which prefaces No. 4 in the manuscript: "Yzac cum sequentibus" (see Bente et al., Katalog der Musikhandschriften, 133)

German Leise "Christ ist erstanden" as cantus firmus.¹⁰¹ Leisen were monophonic popular hymns which were first sung in processions.¹⁰² "Christ ist erstanden" is first documented in Salzburg in the 12th-century and was later disseminated to Bohemia, Hungary, Poland and many parts of Germany.¹⁰³ The text "Christus surrexit" is a Latin translation of the German text "Christ ist erstanden".¹⁰⁴ Polyphonic settings of this Leise are found in many contemporary central European manuscripts including Warsaw 2016, Berlin 40021, Leipzig 1494 and the Glogauer Liederbuch. Isaac's Christ ist erstanden may not accurately be considered a motet due to its use of the vernacular text.¹⁰⁵ However, given that both works set the same cantus firmus and are both transmitted uniquely in the Munich manuscript, it seems pertinent to consider them together.

Riedel notes the stylistic similarities between the two settings, although he fails to acknowledge that both compositions are by Isaac.¹⁰⁶ Rather more extensive imitation of the cantus firmus is seen in Christus surrexit than in Christ ist erstanden including imitation at the fifth, a feature not seen in the German-texted work. In both works the cantus firmus is set in breve and semibreve values. Much of the chant is set syllabically. The only embellishments of the chant are short melismatic flourishes which occur at the ends of phrases. Isaac varies both

¹⁰¹ Both works are published, without composer attribution, in RRM 35:34-40.

¹⁰² RRM 35 p vii.

¹⁰³ Strohm, The Rise, 343; see also Lippard, "Christ ist erstanden".

¹⁰⁴ Strohm, The Rise, 343.

¹⁰⁵ Picker lists Christ ist erstanden in the secular works with German texts or titles (together with another four-voice setting of the same cantus firmus) although he admits that the work is more a German motet than a Tenorlied, see A Guide 111.

¹⁰⁶ RRM 35 p xv, Christus surrexit is discussed in Just, 'Studien', I.46, I 120-21.

the number and choice of voices in which the phrases of the cantus firmus appear. In Christus surrexit a complete statement of the chant is heard in only the tenor and vagans voices while in Christ ist erstanden no one voice sings the entire chant melody.

Defensor noster aspice

This is a short, four-voice setting of the fifth stanza of the hymn "Christe qui lux es".¹⁰⁷ The work is transmitted in two manuscripts and one printed source all of which attribute the work to Isaac. The earliest source is the Sacrorum hymnorum liber primus of Georg Rhaw, printed in Wittenberg in 1542 (RISM 1542¹²).¹⁰⁸ The work is also transmitted in the manuscripts, Regensburg A.R.844-848 (dtd. 1573-77) and Regensburg A.R.863-70 (dtd. 1572-79). The hymn melody is set predominantly in semibreve values with little melodic or rhythmic elaboration. Cantus firmus material is seen in all the voices as each phrase of the hymn is passed imitatively through the polyphony.

Te mane laudum carmine

The earliest, extant source for this short, four-voice setting of the second stanza of the hymn "O lux beata Trinitas" in festo SS Trinitatis is again a publication of Georg Rhau, in this case the Vesperarum precum officia of 1540 [RISM 1540⁵].¹⁰⁹ The work is also transmitted in two manuscript sources: Rostock 49 (dtd 1566); and Regensburg A.R.883-86 (dtd 1573-79). All three sources attribute the work to Isaac. Significantly more embellishment of the chant

¹⁰⁷ Just, 'Studien', I.48, I:117-18.

¹⁰⁸ EDM 21:26-7.

¹⁰⁹ Rhau 4 28-9; see also Just, 'Studien', I.48, I:118

melody is seen in this hymn setting than in Defensor noster aspice. Here again, cantus firmus material permeates all the voices. The chant melody appears most exactly, however, in the superius voice especially towards the end of the piece (see for example "per cuncta laudet saecula" b26-35).

Virgo prudentissima

Isaac's four-voice setting of the antiphon "Virgo prudentissima" in festo assumptione Beatae Mariae Virginis is preserved in two northern Italian manuscripts.¹¹⁰ The work is attributed to Isaac in the manuscript Bologna Q20 (ca. 1530) and is transmitted anonymously in the Cathedral choirbook Padua A17 (dated 1522).

In this work the cantus firmus appears in imitative counterpoint in all the voices. Isaac transposes the mode one chant up a fourth from D to G (with bflat signature). Here the more flexible type of cantus firmus treatment seen in works such as Accessit ad pedes Jesu and Quae est ista is again evident. Cantus firmus material permeates all voices as the antiphon melody is imitated through the counterpoint in many different ways. The piece opens with the cantus firmus set in counterpoint with itself. The opening phrase is imitated between the tenor and superius voices, the superius following the tenor at the octave and at three breves distance. The altus voice meanwhile presents the phrase in shorter note values firstly as counterpoint to the opening of the tenor statement (b1-4) and then again beneath the close of the superius statement (b8-11). The opening

¹¹⁰ SCM 8:11-16; see also Just, 'Studien', I:114, Just, 'Heinrich Isaacs Motetten', 7.

itches of the phrase are also heard in the bassus voice (b4-5). Paired imitation of the chant is also seen. The phrase "filia Syon" is imitated at the fifth between bassus and altus voices (b30-34) and then at the correct pitch between tenor and superius voices (b33-39). Similarly, the phrase "suavis es" appears in close imitation between the bassus and altus voices, the altus a fifth above the bassus (b45-49). Their two-part counterpoint is then imitated exactly an octave higher in the tenor and superius voices (b49-53).

Isaac carefully dovetails the successive phrases of the chant statement so that the end of one phrase is overlapped by the beginning of the next. The phrase "quo progredieris", for example, begins in the tenor voice in b11 as the superius voice brings the preceding phrase "Virgo prudentissima" to a close with a cadence to D. When this is not the case the altus and bassus voices frequently act as bridging voices (see, for example: b19-20; b53-33; b62-4). The piece ends with a short passage in semibreves in all voices (b77-78) which is similar in style to the close of Josquin's setting of the same antiphon.¹¹¹ Isaac's piece closes with a broadening out of rhythms in all voices in triple metre.

¹¹¹

JosquinMo i Bd v 133-35

4. Chant fantasias

Ave regina caelorum Salve regina II

In these two works, a far less exact setting of the chant cantus firmus is seen. Here, the chant melody is not stated in its entirety but acts rather as a point of reference for the largely freely-composed counterpoint. Reference to the chant melody may normally be discerned at the opening of sections or phrases. The chant statement quickly dissolves, however, into non-chant based counterpoint which is characterised by sequential writing, pervasive imitation and often quite extensive repetition. Martin Just terms pieces such as these transmitted in the manuscript Berlin 40021, (including Isaac's Salve regina II), "Choralphantasie".¹¹² Certainly the clear presentation of the chant is not the primary aim here and in this respect these works are quite distinct from all other of Isaac's cantus firmus elaborations.

Stylistically these pieces appear to have much in common with Isaac's instrumental-type motets such as Gratias refero tibi or Gentile spiritus as well as with textless pieces such as La morra and other works transmitted without text in, for example, Florence B.R.229 (see for example Nos. 18, 140, 230 and 253).¹¹³ Here too, extended vocal ranges, chains of sequences, parallel writing and imitation predominate. In this context, it is interesting to note the separate transmission of the third section of Isaac's Salve regina II in Florence B.R.229

¹¹² Just, Der Mensuralkodex, I.204, I.209

¹¹³ Brown, A Florentine Chansonier, chapter xii, esp 140-42

(without text) and with contrafact text in three other northern Italian chansonniers (see below). Warwick Edwards calls these types of textless ensemble pieces "songs without words".¹¹⁴ Whether these works were performed by instruments or voices was, as Reinhard Strohm points out, a matter of choice.

This music could be vocal in origin, but was suitable for instrumental performance: the performance medium was here a question of choice or preference, not of intrinsic technical character. Voices and instruments shared contrapuntal and stylistic ideals.¹¹⁵

A possible context for the performance of works such as Isaac's Salve regina and Ave regina caelorum may have been the public concerts given by city minstrels which Strohm documents in Bruges in the late 15th century. Strohm suggests that the 16 secular works by Obrecht transmitted in the Segovia codex, which he describes as "instrumental fantasias over popular monophonic tunes", may have been written for public concerts by urban wind bands.¹¹⁶ Isaac's chant fantasias (instrumental fantasias over popular chants?), both of which are also transmitted in the Segovia manuscript (part one only of Ave regina caelorum), may well have been performed in similar contexts. Instrumental Salve performances by Bruges minstrels in the church of St Donatian are known from 1483.

These minstrels' concerts were held in honour of the Virgin, and one has to assume that the minstrels played sacred works as well, especially the *Salve regina* and other Marian pieces, or sections from masses that were suitable for instrumental performance.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Edwards, 'Songs Without Words', see esp. 91.

¹¹⁵ Strohm, The Rise, 362.

¹¹⁶ Strohm, Music in Late Medieval Bruges, 144.

¹¹⁷ ibid., 144.

Strohm cites an anonymous city chronicler who describes performances by the Bruges' minstrels with specific reference to their repertory.

After Maximilian had been imprisoned by the citizens in 1488, a truce was celebrated on 5 April 1488. In front of the town hall 'the city minstrels stood in their usual place for such performances, and they played in honour of Our Lady *Ave regina caelorum*, as well as *Salve regina*, and several other pieces of music'.¹¹⁸

Maximilian's own patronage of instrumental music is well documented.¹¹⁹ His musical household included the organist Paul Hofhaimer as well as the virtuoso zinck player Augustein Schubinger and the trombonist Hans Stewdlin.¹²⁰ It seems unlikely, however, that Isaac's *Salve regina II*, at least, was composed during his employment at Maximilian's court. The work is copied in one of the earliest layers of the manuscript Berlin 40021 (layer VII) which Just dates 1492-95 and would therefore appear to date prior to his appointment at the Imperial chapel.¹²¹

Ave regina caelorum

The four-voice motet *Ave regina caelorum* is preserved in two manuscript sources.¹²² The complete work is transmitted, without attribution, in the organ tablature St Gall 530 (ca. 1512-21) while the first part only appears in the

¹¹⁸ *ibid.*, 87.

¹¹⁹ See Polk, *German Instrumental Music*, esp. 89-94 and Polk, 'Patronage, Imperial Image, and the Emperor's Musical Retinue'.

¹²⁰ Polk, *German Instrumental Music*, 92-4; see also Hell, 'Doch ein Bildnis Heinrich Isaacs'.

¹²¹ Just, *Der Mensuralkodex*, II 22.

¹²² The work is discussed in Just, 'Studien', I:176-7; Marx, 'Neues zur Tabulatur-Handschrift St Gallen', 282; Picker, 'Isaac in Flanders', 159.

slightly earlier source, the Segovia manuscript (c.1500).¹²³ The work is copied in both manuscripts with textual incipits only. Different transpositions of the piece are seen in the two manuscripts. In the Segovia choirbook the work appears with final on C. The tessitura of the voices in this version is consequently rather high. The superius voice ascends to g", the altus to d", the tenor to a' and the bassus to e'. In the organ tablature, on the other hand, the work is copied a fourth lower, with final on G.¹²⁴ Keith Polk notes that this type of transposition is often indicative of the adaptation of a work for instrumental performance.¹²⁵

The work is in two sections. Here, as in Salve regina II, the antiphon melody is not consistently presented. For the most part, only an outline of the chant melody may be discerned. The piece opens, for example, with first the upper pair and then the lower pair of voices sketching in close imitation the melodic shape of the first chant phrase "Ave" (b1-9). Despite its loose paraphrase, the antiphon melody would have been immediately recognised by a contemporary audience. "Ave regina caelorum" and "Salve regina" were two of the most popular antiphons of the day. An exception to the loose paraphrase of the cantus firmus is seen in the first section of the piece where the phrase "Salve radix salve porta" is set in extended note values in the tenor voice (b35-56). Above and below the chant statement the superius and bassus voices move in parallel 10ths in long chains of sequences.

¹²³ An edition of the work from the St Gall manuscript is published in SMD 8:260-3.

¹²⁴ Other examples of Isaac's motets appearing at different transpositions in St Gall 530 include Tristitia vestra and Prophetarum maxime

¹²⁵ Polk, German Instrumental Music, 146.

Salve regina II

Isaac's Salve regina II has been discussed by previous scholars and will therefore be described only briefly here.¹²⁶ A complete version of the work is transmitted in five manuscript sources. It is attributed to Isaac in probably its earliest source, the manuscript Berlin 40021 (see above) as well as in the Segovia choirbook and Dresden 1/D/505 and appears anonymously in Warsaw 2016 and Stuttgart 39 (with text "Salve Rex"). The third section only of the motet is transmitted in four northern Italian sources: without text in Florence B.R.229; and with contrafact text in Bologna Q18 ("Thysis"); Florence Panc.27 (Alleluya) and Paris 676 ("Gratis acceptistis").

This is one of Isaac's most extensive chant settings (317 bars). The work divides into ten sections. The antiphon melody appears most identifiably at the opening of each section.¹²⁷ Here the chant may be presented unambiguously, as at the very opening of the work where the antiphon melody appears in extended note values in the superius voice (b3-11), or loosely paraphrased so that only an outline of the chant melody may be discerned (see for example b65-70 "Ad te (clamamus)"). The chant statement, however, is generally short-lived. This work is characterised above all by often extensive passages of cantus firmus free counterpoint in which sequential writing, imitation and repetition predominate.

¹²⁶ Maier, Studien zur Geschichte der Marienantiphon, 103-07; Just, 'Studien', I:173-5; Just, Der Mensuralkodex, I 209, II 119-20; Picker, 'Isaac in Flanders', 157-9. An edition of the work is published in EDM 76:202-16.

¹²⁷ Appearances of the cantus firmus are given in Maier, Studien, 104 and Just, 'Studien', I:174

A clearly defined phrase structure segments each of the work's sections into blocks of counterpoint which are often based on a minimal amount of original material. To take one section as an example. The third section of the work "Ad te clamamus" (b75-107) opens with the chant phrase "Ad te" loosely paraphrased and imitated in the three upper voices (b65-70) This phrase ends with a cadence to D at b70. The remainder of the section makes no reference to the antiphon melody. Instead, in the next block of counterpoint (b71-82) descending sequences are seen in all four voices with each voice repeating its own two-bar phrase. This passage closes with a cadence to G in b82. A short joining phrase in the altus (b82-85) leads to a passage of imitative counterpoint between the bassus, tenor and superius voices, where a single phrase is repeated at the octave in each of these three voices while the altus voice repeats its own, separate phrase (b83-94). The section as a whole closes with an extensive passage of melismatic counterpoint, typical of the close of many sections in this work. This passage is built on a four-bar phrase (which in itself is a 2 + 2 repeat) repeated three times in a descending sequence in all voices, each repeat a third lower than the previous. The section ends with a cadence to G at b107. Isaac's economic construction of often extensive passages of counterpoint is impressive as a single idea is spun out by means of imitation or repetition to provide the basis for substantial lengths of music. This is a feature that is seen throughout the work.

5. Chant settings in motet-like form

**Alma redemptoris mater
Anima mea liquefacta est
Ave sanctissima Maria
Regina caeli laetare
Tota pulchra es**

This group of works includes some of the most elaborate and sophisticated of all of Isaac's chant settings. In these works, features more commonly associated with the motet than with chant settings begin to emerge. This is seen most conspicuously in the works' division into sections which, in contrast to the sectional divisions of the responsory settings, for example, are not determined solely by the structure of the chant. The division of the antiphon setting Tota pulchra es into two sections, for example, is a musical decision rather than one governed by the chant's structure. More flexible treatment of the chant cantus firmus may also be observed in these works. In Isaac's free cantus firmus elaborations each work begins and ends with the chant statement. The dimensions of each work is determined by the chant alone. By contrast, the works in this group are on a larger scale. The chant statement may be interrupted, occasionally by short episodes of chant free material or more usually, by the repetition of particular chant phrases. In these works, motet-like passages of text setting are also occasionally seen. Prominence is given to particular phrases of text through the use of repeated chords in all voices, syllabic declamation and fermata held chords. This type of text setting is not seen in any other of Isaac's cantus firmus elaborations.

Different types of cantus firmus treatment may be identified in these works: in Alma redemptoris mater the antiphon melody is loosely paraphrased in the tenor voice; imitation of the cantus firmus between the tenor and superius voices is seen in Tota pulchra es; while in the three antiphon settings Anima mea liquefacta est, Ave sanctissima Maria and Regina caeli laetare the chant appears in imitative counterpoint in all the voices.

Alma redemptoris mater

The four-voice Marian antiphon setting Alma redemptoris mater is transmitted in three manuscripts and one printed source. The work is transmitted anonymously in its earliest source, Petrucci's Motetti C of 1504 (RISM 1504¹) as well as in the manuscripts Rome Vat. 1976-79 (ca. 1528-31) and Dresden 1/D/505. The manuscript Florence 232 (ca. 1516-22) is the only source to attribute the work to Isaac.

This motet is discussed in two studies by Just and will therefore be described only briefly here.¹²⁸ It is in two sections each of which divides further into two parts according to the four-fold structure of the chant:

<u>Prima pars</u>	b1 - 63	Alma redemptoris mater quae pervia caeli porta manes
	b64 - 111	Et stella maris succurre cadenti surgere qui curat populo
<u>Secunda pars</u>	b1 - 45	Tu quae genuisti natura mirante tuum sanctum genitorem

¹²⁸ Just, 'Studien', I: 169-73; see also Just, 'Heinrich Isaacs Motetten' which includes an edition of the work.

b46 - 112 Virgo prius ac posterius Gabrielis ab ore sumens
illud ave peccatorum miserere

Just shows that the numbers of bars in each section stand in a symmetrical 4:3:3:4 relationship to each other.¹²⁹

The presentation of the chant in this work is somewhat haphazard. The antiphon melody is paraphrased primarily in the tenor voice in varying degrees of exactness. The motet opens, for example, with the first chant phrase "Alma redemptoris mater" loosely paraphrased with melodic and rhythmic embellishment in the tenor voice (b1-28). In contrast, the following phrase "quae pervia" appears in extended note values in the tenor voice, the chant melody stretched so severely that the original shape of the phrase is lost (b29-44, see also "Et stella" (I: b64-81), "ab ore" (II: b76-93)). At other times, the chant is paraphrased so loosely that only an outline of the melody may be discerned (see for example "Virgo" (II: b46-54)), while at certain points the chant melody is unrecognisable. The melodic shape of the tenor phrases at "natura mirante" (II: b3-35) and "genitorem" (II: b41-45), for example, bear little resemblance to the antiphon melody. Extended episodes of cantus firmus free counterpoint, such as those observed in the chant fantasias Salve regina II or Ave regina caelorum, are not, however, apparent in this work. In Alma redemptoris mater, passages in which the cantus firmus is not clearly presented are always short-lived. Just describes the piece as "eine Art von Probekomposition für Maximilian"¹³⁰ but finds the work difficult to classify.

¹²⁹ Just, 'Heinrich Isaacs Motetten', 15-17

¹³⁰ ibid, 15.

Schwerlich können wir von einem bestimmten Motettentyp oder gar von einheitlichem Satz sprechen.¹³¹

Parallels between this work and Josquin's four-voice setting of the Marian antiphon "Virgo prudentissima" may be drawn.¹³² In Josquin's motet, the antiphon melody is set in imitative counterpoint in all the voices.¹³³ Towards the end of the work, however, the melodic substance of the chant is less easy to identify, see especially the phrases "pulchra ut luna" and "electa ut sol".

Further insight into the character of Isaac's motet may be gained through a closer examination of the work's transmission. Three of the work's four sources are collections of motets: Petrucci's Motetti C is a collection of 42 motets by composers including Josquin des Prez, Brumel and Compère; the manuscript Florence 232, which has been linked to Medici artistic circles, transmits a repertory of 65 motets by composers such as Josquin des Prez, Agricola and Mouton;¹³⁴ while the manuscript Rome Vat. 1976-79 is a collection of 38 motets copied by the Netherlands court scribe Petrus Alamire between ca. 1528-31 for Ferdinand and Anne of Hungary, to whom the manuscript is dedicated.¹³⁵

The four volumes of motets published by Petrucci in Venice between 1502 and 1505 - Motetti A numero trentare (RISM 1502¹); Motetti de passione. De Cruce De sacramento De beata virgine et huiusmodi B (RISM 1503¹); Motetti C (RISM

¹³¹ Just, 'Studien', I:173.

¹³² JosquinMo i Bd v:133-35.

¹³³ Elders, 'Plainchant in the Motets', 538.

¹³⁴ Cummings, 'Medici Musical Patronage' and Cummings, 'A Florentine Sacred Repertory'.

¹³⁵ Census-Catalogue; Bridgman, Manuscripts, 412-15.

1504¹) and Motetti libro quarto (RISM 1505²) - have been discussed in a recent article by Howard Mayer Brown.¹³⁶ While Brown sees the repertory of 175 motets in these volumes as

in some way central to the purposes of organizations engaged in the performance of sacred music, that is cathedral and chapel choirs

an exploration of the motets' texts reveals that the majority of these works set texts which have no specific place in the liturgy. Instead they set devotional texts or composites of several different texts.¹³⁷ Brown concludes that these motets "were not in the first place intended as liturgical substitutions" but rather may be considered as "extra-liturgical adornments".¹³⁸ He connects the devotional types of texts set in these works with the types of texts found in contemporary prayer books and Books of Hours and argues that a context for the performance of these motets was not during the Divine Services but rather during the many votive services that were held in side chapels.

... many of these compositions in these four volumes were probably not intended for performance as a part of the central liturgy at a religious institution, not even as extra-liturgical adornment of a High Mass. Instead, composers wrote them for votive services, arranged on a weekly basis and performed in side chapels¹³⁹

It is within this type of context that Isaac's motet Alma redemptoris mater may also have been performed. In this light, the rather loose setting of the antiphon melody may be understood. An exact setting of the antiphon melody would not

¹³⁶ Brown, 'The Mirror of Man's Salvation'.

¹³⁷ ibid., 746.

¹³⁸ ibid., 750.

¹³⁹ ibid., 757.

have been required for the type of ad libitum contexts in which the work may have been performed and heard. Besides, “Alma redemptoris mater” was one of the most well-known antiphons of the day and, despite its rather loose presentation, would have been immediately recognised by a contemporary audience.

Tota pulchra es

Variants between the sources of the four-voice Marian antiphon setting Tota pulchra es divide the transmission of the work into two branches: on the one hand, the work is transmitted in the two related Florentine manuscripts Florence 232 and CorBC 95-6¹⁴⁰; and on the other, it appears in the manuscript St Gall 463, the organ tablature St Gall 530 as well as in Glarean’s treatise Dodecachordon of 1547.¹⁴¹ Glarean uses the motet as an example of a work in the hypophrygian mode and describes the piece thus:

... the harmony is especially dignified and expresses the mode beautifully.¹⁴²

This is a beautiful two-part work which Isaac sets in an unusually low tessitura (vocal ranges: superius a-c’; altus c-f’; tenor c-d’; bassus E-a). The cantus firmus treatment in this work is similar to that seen in the two responsory settings Accessit ad pedes Jesu and Quae est ista. The antiphon melody appears in imitation between the tenor and superius voices. As in the responsory

¹⁴⁰ For a discussion of the relationships between these two sources, see Cummings, ‘A Florentine Sacred Repertory’, 285-9; see also Just, ‘Studien’, I 16.

¹⁴¹ The filiation of the work is outlined in CW 100:p.v-vi; see also Just, ‘Studien’, I 53-4, I 177-8

¹⁴² Glarean, Dodecachordon, 2 254.

settings, Isaac varies the manner in which the individual chant phrases are presented:

certain phrases are imitated exactly at the octave between the chant carrying voices, the phrase, “amica mea”, for example, is heard in the tenor voice b6-13 and is imitated an octave above in the superius b8-15; similarly the phrase “non est in te” is heard in close imitation between the two voices, tenor b21,3-23,2 and superius b22,3-24; occasionally the superius acts as the leading voice: for example the phrase “super omnia” is heard in the superius b56-63 and is imitated an octave below in the tenor b58-65;

in a few instances, imitation at the interval of a fourth is seen, for example: the phrase “favus distillans” is heard in the tenor voice b25-27 and is imitated a fourth higher in the superius b26-29; and similarly with the phrase “labia tua” which appears in the tenor b29-32 and in the superius b31-35;

certain phrases are heard in only one voice, for example: the phrase “mel et lac” is heard only in the tenor b36-39; the phrase “odor” only in the superius voice b46-48; “florentes” only in the tenor b109-112; and “odorem dederent” only in the superius b113-119

In many respects, therefore, Isaac's treatment of the chant cantus firmus in this work is typical of many of his chant settings. The chant is clearly recognisable

in either one or other or both of the principle chant carrying voices. However, Isaac's setting of two particular phrases of the antiphon melody is unusual. In the first section of the motet, the phrase "iam enim" (b70-72) and in the second section, the phrase "vineae" (b107-109) are imitated between the tenor and superius voices at a fifth above the correct pitch. Neither phrase appears at its correct pitch. Interestingly, the two chant phrases are melodically identical and are set identically in the polyphony. This more flexible treatment of the chant cantus firmus is indicative of the motet-like character of the work.

Cantus firmus material is rarely seen in the altus and bassus voices (but see the bassus imitation of the tenor's first chant phrase "tota" a fifth below at the opening of the piece (b3-5) as well as the paired imitation of the phrase "audita est", which appears at pitch in the tenor and superius voices (b127-130) and at a fifth below in the altus and bassus voices (b130-134)). The non-chant carrying voices are occasionally characterised by charming Isaac-esque features - see especially the thrice repeated phrase "omnia" in the altus voice (b57-62) (which seems rather reminiscent of the repeated ostinato figures that appear in the altus voice of Salve regina I) and, to a lesser extent, the repeated stepwise d-e movement in the bassus voice (b58-61).

Motet-like passages of text setting are particularly apparent in this work especially in the closing section (from b153). Here rests in all voices and fermata held chords demarcate phrases. The text is further accentuated through repetition - the phrase "amica mea" is heard twice, the second time a third lower

than the first - as well as through its setting - much of the text is set syllabically in repeated chords and with slowing moving harmonies. This type of setting contrasts strongly with the, up to this point, rather fluid, contrapuntal setting of the antiphon melody.

Equally expressive is the opening of the second section. Here the cantus firmus is heard in extended note values in the superius voice shadowed a tenth below by the bassus voice (the tenor remains silent at this point). Melodic prominence is given not to the chant statement but to the melismatic altus voice, which curves and soars in a beautifully shaped phrase to the text "flores apparuerunt". The clear "C major" harmonies and florid line combine to wonderful affect.

Anima mea liquefacta est

The four-voice antiphon setting Anima mea liquefacta est is attributed to Isaac in the manuscript Florence 232 (ca. 1516-21) as well as in Glarean's Dodecachordon of 1547. The work is also transmitted anonymously in the manuscripts London 8.G.VII (ca. 1516-22), WrocławU 428 (ca 1510-30), Ulm 237 (ca 1530-40) and Hradec 21 (first half of 16th century).¹⁴³ The work appears in the theoretical source as an example of a piece in the Mixolydian mode and is described in the following terms,

... the beginning has a dignity together with the highest aural pleasure which can be admired more easily than it can be described.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ Just, 'Studien', I 53, 129-30, see also Glarean, Dodecachordon, 2 427-32

¹⁴⁴ Glarean, Dodecachordon, 2 263

Isaac divides the work into three sections (*Anima mea / Invenerunt me / Filiae Hierusalem*). Cantus firmus material is diffused through all the voices in imitative counterpoint. As is typical of Isaac's chant settings, slightly longer note values characterise the cantus firmus statement. The work opens, for example, with the antiphon melody carried by the superius voice in breve values accompanied by the altus voice. Their two-part counterpoint is then imitated an octave lower by the tenor and bassus voices. The chant melody appears at pitch most consistently in the tenor and superius voices with imitation of the cantus firmus in the altus and bassus voices usually at the intervals of the fourth or fifth. The phrase "et non inveni" in the first section, for example, is stated in close imitation, at pitch, in the superius and tenor voices and is then imitated a fourth below in the altus and bassus voices. Here again the chant statement is set in broad semibreve values.

A feature of cantus firmus treatment which sets this group of motets apart from Isaac's cantus firmus elaborations is the repetition of certain chant phrases. This is a feature which has already been observed in *Tota pulchra es* ("amica mea") and also occurs in the antiphon setting *Ave sanctissima Maria* (see the large-scale repetition of the cantus firmus at the end of this work). It also occurs more ostensibly at the ends of sections. The final chant phrase of a section becomes the subject of an extended passage of imitative counterpoint whereby the conclusion of a section is extended into "a complex in its own right".¹⁴⁵ Although this type of writing has been observed on a small scale in Isaac's

¹⁴⁵

Just, 'Plainsong in Polyphony', 150.

responsory setting Quae est ista, in this group of works the feature becomes significantly more pronounced. In Anima mea liquefacta est, for example, repetition of the final chant phrase "et non respondit mihi" is seen at the close of the first section, while a more extended passage of imitative counterpoint is seen at the close of the second. Here the phrase "custodes murorum" is repeated and imitated by all the voices over a passage of nearly 20 bars (b89 superius/altus; b91 bassus; b93 bassus; b96 altus; b100 bassus; b102 superius; b105 tenor).

The repetition of the cantus firmus interrupts the presentation of the chant. In so doing, the compositional techniques through which the chant is presented - imitation, repetition - move into the foreground and relegate the chant statement into a subsidiary role. This is one, important, aspect of the motet-like character of this group of chant settings. The straightforward presentation of the chant melody is no longer the primary or sole aim of these pieces. In contrast to the cantus firmus elaborations, where the dimension of each work was determined by the chant, here the musical structure takes precedence and consequently these works are noticeably more elaborate and are on a larger scale.

Ave sanctissima Maria

A chant source for the Marian antiphon "Ave sanctissima Maria" has been newly-identified and is discussed in detail in chapter three. The chant is found amongst a small group of Marian antiphons which appear towards the end of the Responsoria noviter cum notis expressa ... printed in Nuremberg by Johann Stuchs in 1509 (CXXII-CXXII'). Just's study, which offers a reconstruction of

the chant melody based on a comparison of Isaac's motet with Senfl's five-voice tenor motet Mater digna Dei - Ave sanctissima Maria, where the antiphon appears as cantus firmus in breves in the tenor voice, also includes an extensive discussion of the cantus firmus treatment in Isaac's motet.¹⁴⁶ A few salient points only will therefore be added here.

The motet is transmitted in the printed source Liber selectarum cantionum of 1520 and is listed by title in the manuscript Heidelberg 318 (copied from RISM 1520⁴).¹⁴⁷ Both sources attribute the work to Isaac. The printed collection of motets reflects the repertory of the chapel of Maximilian I and it seems safe to assume that Isaac's motet was composed for the Habsburg court. Just describes the work in the following terms

Die Motette ist zweifellos eine der bedeutendsten Schöpfungen Isaacs und sicher erst in seinen letzten Lebensjahren entstanden.¹⁴⁸

The antiphon setting is a magnificent example of Isaac's imitative cantus firmus treatment. The chant melody is diffused through all the voices in imitative counterpoint. Both Isaac and Senfl's motets are in three sections, structured according to the sense of the text: the first section describes the four attributes of the Virgin Mary - Mater Dei, Regina caeli, Porta paradisi, domina mundi; in the second section Mary is worshipped as the Mother of God; and finally the last section comprises a plea to Mary for intercession and deliverance.

¹⁴⁶ Just, 'Studien', I: 141-8.

¹⁴⁷ This last source is not noted in Just, 'Studien' or Picker, A Guide

¹⁴⁸ Just 'Studien', I. 148

The Marian devotion of the text is enhanced and supplemented in the musical setting through Isaac's subtle use of number symbolism. The significance of number symbolism in Renaissance polyphony has been studied, above all, by Willem Elders.¹⁴⁹ In a recent study, Elders explores the representation of the numbers seven and twelve, symbolically associated with the Virgin Mary (the seven Sorrows of Mary and also the seven Joys and the number twelve as representative of Mary as the Queen of Heaven) in works by, for example, Pierre de la Rue, Josquin des Prez and Jacob Obrecht.¹⁵⁰ Isaac's motet opens with seven-fold imitation of the first chant phrase "Ave". The three-note figure is passed between all four voices, beginning with the altus in b1; bassus in b3; superius b4; bassus b6; superius b8,3; bassus b10 - and with the final seventh entry being reserved for the tenor voice in b11. The symbolic association of the number seven with the Virgin Mary is further underlined in this opening section of the work as Isaac treats the cantus firmus in seven phrases: Ave / sanctissima / Maria / Mater Dei / regina caeli porta / paradisi / Domina mundi.¹⁵¹ Further instances of this type are noted by Just.¹⁵²

Repetition of the chant cantus firmus is seen in the final section of the work. A complete statement of the antiphon melody is achieved by b160 and, as far as the presentation of the chant is concerned, the piece could end here. However, this would make the last section of the work relatively brief in comparison with

¹⁴⁹ Elders, Studien zur Symbolik. A study of number symbolism in Isaac's motets is Funkhouser, 'Heinrich Isaac and Number Symbolism'.

¹⁵⁰ Elders, 'Music and Number in Token of the Holy Virgin', Symbolic Scores, 151-84.

¹⁵¹ Symbolism of number seven has also been seen in the responsory setting Accessit ad pedes Jesu.

¹⁵² Just 'Studien', I:148 n.5.

the two preceding sections. Isaac therefore extends this closing section by repeating the final three chant phrases: *et libera nos / ab omnibus / malis* (b160-182). The chant is given a new polyphonic setting and is imitated between all the voices. The C tonality of the piece is emphasised in this closing passage by repeated cadences to C (b160, b169, b174, b179, b182) as well as by the melodic contours of the tenor and superius lines in particular, whose phrases begin and end consistently on C.

Regina caeli

Isaac's Marian antiphon setting Regina caeli is for five voices¹⁵³ and is one of only a handful of Isaac's chant settings which are composed for more than four voices.¹⁵⁴ The work is transmitted uniquely in the Imperial chapel manuscript Munich 31 and without doubt, dates from Isaac's period of employment at the chapel of Maximilian I.¹⁵⁵ Isaac transposes the antiphon up a fifth from f to c and divides the setting into four sections according to the phrase structure of the chant: *Regina caeli laetare alleluia / Quia quem merusti portare alleluia / Resurrexit sicut dixit alleluia / Ora pro nobis deum alleluia.*¹⁵⁶

Cantus firmus material permeates all the voices. At the opening of each section the chant melody is clearly presented, often imitated in extended note values, between pairs of voices. The motet begins, for example, with the opening phrase

¹⁵³ The work is discussed in Just, 'Studien', I:175-6 and an edition of the work is published in CW 100:28-36.

¹⁵⁴ See, for example Inviolata, integra et casta (a5) and Christus surrexit (a6).

¹⁵⁵ Bente, Neue Wege, 5-0-55; Bente et al., Katalog der Handschriften, 133-5; Census-Catalogue.

¹⁵⁶ AP 62'-63.

of the chant sung in canon, in breves, between the lowest pair of voices while simultaneously being loosely paraphrased in the upper voices. The melismatic alleluias which end each phrase of the chant are treated with much more flexibility. Here the chant melody is loosely referred to in all the voices.

The motet displays remarkable unity and coherence both within sections and over the work as a whole. The similarity of cantus firmus treatment between sections - in both the first and third sections, for example, the cantus firmus appears in canon between the lower pair of voices - and the melismatic alleluia passages which end each section serve to bind the work together. The coherence of the piece is reinforced by the emphatic C-tonality. All four sections end with cadences to C and, over the work as a whole, over 75% of cadences are to C. The tonal focus of the piece is thus unmistakable and the resulting brightness and clarity of sound is enhanced by the high tessitura of the two upper voices (both move in the octave range g'-g"). Not without reason, Just refers to the work's "österlichen Freude".¹⁵⁷

The economy of material that we have observed in Anima mea liquefacta est is here even more pronounced. In the third section, for example, the cantus firmus is sung in extended note values in the tenor and bassus voices an octave apart and at a distance of two breves ("Resurrexi sicut dixit" b73-85). The tenor then repeats the phrase a fifth lower (b85-95) with the end of the phrase "sicut dixit" now being imitated in the altus voice a fourth above (b93-99 embellished).

¹⁵⁷

Just, 'Studien', I:176.

Above the cantus firmus statement, the three bar phrase with which the highest voice opens the section is repeated and imitated insistently in the upper two voices and also appears once in the altus voice (b75-77).¹⁵⁸ In this way, the altus voice acts, throughout the section, as an intermediary voice between the upper and lower pair of voices producing a 2 + 1 + 2 vocal texture.

¹⁵⁸

Si b73-75 (f"); A b75-77 (f"); Si b77-79 (c") Si b84-85 (f"), Sii b85-86 (c"); Si b87-88 (c"); Sii b89-90 (c"); Si b90-91 (f"); Si b92-93 (f"); Sii b96-98 (c"); Si b102-102 (f")

Chapter 3

Isaac's chant settings and liturgical traditions: a preliminary study

Introduction

One of the earliest studies to explore the interrelationship between Renaissance sacred polyphony and individual liturgical traditions was Gerhard Pätzig's study of Isaac's Choralis constantinus.¹ Through careful analysis of the contents of the Choralis constantinus, Pätzig was able to demonstrate that the three volumes do not comprise a unified cycle of Mass Propers. Comparison of the mass formularies in Isaac's work with, in the first place, liturgical sources from Constance, showed that only the formularies of Book II correspond closely to the liturgical practice of Constance.² Aware of Isaac's long association with the Imperial court chapel of Maximilian I, Pätzig then compared the mass formularies of Books I and III with liturgical sources from Passau as well as from a handful of other southern German dioceses.³ The Habsburg court chapel was re-established in Vienna in 1498.⁴ Pätzig assumes that the separation of Vienna from the diocese of Passau in 1469 was, at least initially, an administrative procedure. The cathedral of Vienna (St Stephen's) would not

¹ Pätzig, 'Liturgische Grundlagen und handschriftliche Überlieferung'. Facsimiles of all three volumes of the Choralis constantinus have now been published, see Lerner, Choralis constantini. An edition of Book I of the Choralis Constantinus is published in DTO 10; an edition of Book II in DTO 32; and an edition of Book III in Isaac CCIII and CuylerF. See also Heidrich, Die deutschen Chorbücher, esp. 276-96; Cavanaugh, 'A Liturgico-Musical Study'; Cavanaugh, 'Early 16th Century Cycles'; and Pätzig, 'Heinrich Isaac's "Choralis constantinus"'

² Pätzig, 'Liturgische Grundlagen', 22-39

³ ibid., 39-57.

⁴ Literature on the Habsburg court includes: Mantuani, 'Die Musik in Wien'; Koczirz, 'Die Auflösung der Hofmusikkapelle'; Cuyler, The Emperor Maximilian I and Music; Picker, 'Habsburg', Grove6; Picker, 'The Habsburg Courts in the Netherlands'.

immediately have acquired its own liturgical rite but would have continued to subscribe to the usage of Passau. In support of the liturgical unity of the dioceses of Passau and Vienna, Pätzig points to the publication in Vienna of both the Graduale Pataviense and the Antiphonale Pataviense in 1511 and 1518 respectively.⁵ Pätzig shows that the mass formularies of Books I and III of the Choralis constantinus correspond most closely, although not entirely, with the rite of Passau. Several settings from the Commune Sanctorum in Book III, for example, are not found in liturgical sources from Passau or from any other diocese. Pätzig concludes, with caution, that while Isaac composed Book II of the Choralis constantinus for the Cathedral of Constance, Books I and III were probably composed for the court chapel of Maximilian I.

Überblickt man zusammenfassend die Vergleiche mit den liturgischen Büchern aus der Entstehungszeit des CC, so ergibt sich als liturgische Heimat für den CC I der Stammsitz der Hofkapelle in Wien. Lediglich der CC II weist nach Konstanz, während die Vorlage für das Commune Sanctorum und Ordinarium missae aus dem CC III wiederum in Wien vermutet werden darf. Unverkennbar gehört aber das Proprium Sanctorum des CC III zur Meßordnung dieses Bistums.⁶

A method of comparative musico-liturgical analysis is outlined in Mary Bloxam's dissertation.⁷ She takes as case studies two collections of sacred polyphony which are known to have been compiled for specific musical institutions: Chris Maas has shown that the choirbook 's HerAB 73 was compiled for the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, the large lay confraternity in 's-

⁵ Pätzig, 'Liturgische', 41 n.4.

⁶ *ibid.*, 57

⁷ Bloxam, 'A Survey of late Medieval Service Books', see esp. 105-169

Hertogenbosch;⁸ while Craig Wright and Robert Ford have demonstrated that the manuscript CambraiBM 17 was compiled for and used by the Cathedral of Cambrai.⁹ Bloxam aims to establish whether local liturgical traditions may be identified in these two collections of polyphony. To this end, she undertakes far-ranging liturgical and musical comparison of the vespers polyphony in these two manuscripts with the vespers services preserved in liturgical sources from their respective institutions as well as from nine other usages.

In the first instance, she compares the liturgical position of the chants set polyphonically with those preserved in the chant sources. While in some cases the polyphonic settings employ chants which occupy liturgical positions unique to their respective locale (for example, no liturgy other than 's-Hertogenbosch is known to employ "Oculi tui" and "Surge aquilo" as the second and fourth antiphons of first vespers on the Marian feasts of the Conception, Assumption and Nativity), for the most part, the chants appear in identical liturgical positions in other locales

thus rendering it impossible to suggest that their polyphonic settings were composed especially for 's-Hertogenbosch [or Cambrai] on liturgical grounds alone.¹⁰

A comparison of the melodic versions of chant set with those transmitted in the chant sources is then undertaken. Substantive variants in text and melody are identified in particular chants from Cambrai and 's-Hertogenbosch, as

⁸ C. Maas, ed.: *Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broeerschap 's-Hertogenbosch codex 73*, Monumenta Musica Neerlandica, viii (Amsterdam, 1970-73).

⁹ C. Wright and R. Ford: 'A French Polyphonic Hymnal of the Sixteenth Century: Cambrai Bibliothèque municipale, MS 17', *Essays on Music for Charles Warren Fox*, ed. J.C. Graue (Rochester, 1979), 145-59.

¹⁰ Bloxam, 'A Survey', 111 (my brackets)

transmitted in their respective liturgical sources. In certain cases, Bloxam is able to show that these variants are taken over into the polyphonic settings, thus supporting the probability that these pieces were composed for specific usages. The 's-Hertogenbosch version of the antiphon "Corde et animo", for example, is distinguished from all other usages by four significant variants, all of which are incorporated into the polyphonic setting.¹¹ More typically however, this type of comparison yields more ambiguous results. Variants identified in the local traditions are not observed in the polyphonic settings or conversely significant deviations from the local traditions are identified in the polyphony. Two possible explanations for the source of these types of melodic variant are suggested,

... either the composer deliberately chose to deviate from the chant model for compositional reasons, or the variants reflect a usage more familiar to the composer.¹²

Bloxam concludes that

the determination of local melodic variants can sometimes assist in the localization of polyphony based on melodies of widespread or universal use.¹³

The opportunity to compare collections of polyphony composed for specific institutions with extant liturgical sources from those same institutions is rare. Bloxam admits that the availability of source material for this type of comparative musico-liturgical analysis is ideal and that for most liturgical polyphony comparison with local liturgical traditions is not so straightforward.

¹¹ *ibid.* 112-17.

¹² *ibid.* 138.

¹³ *ibid.* 126.

For the vast majority of Masses and motets, however, the identification of local liturgical and melodic traditions is more difficult. Many such compositions survive in several sources and so demand consideration of the transmission of a work to ascertain .. the source closest to the time and place of composition. ... Also, many Masses and motets are ascribed to composers who were employed in several places, and/or those whose biographies contain substantial lacunae. This necessitates the investigation and comparison of a variety of different liturgical traditions.¹⁴

The difficulties of comparing different liturgical traditions are highlighted in a more recent study of the Choralis constantinus by Theodore Karp.¹⁵ In contrast to Pätzig's analysis of the mass formularies, Karp compares the melodic versions of chant set by Isaac in the Choralis constantinus with a vast range of chant sources in an attempt to establish Isaac's source. Karp writes

... if we are to understand Isaac's knowledge of chant and his procedures in treating chant, we must eventually proceed beyond questions of rite and seek out the specific forms of the melodies known to the composer.¹⁶

Karp's study focuses on seven chants set polyphonically in the Choralis constantinus which meet either or both of two criteria. He chooses chants which are either known to be unstable in their transmission and are therefore likely to include significant variants, or those that are given multiple settings in the Choralis constantinus, in particular those that are set in Books II and III or Books I and II because

it would be meaningful to learn whether the same or different chant versions underlie the settings intended for Konstanz as opposed to those for the Habsburg Hofkapelle.¹⁷

¹⁴ ibid, 170.

¹⁵ Karp, 'Some Chant Models'.

¹⁶ ibid, 323.

¹⁷ ibid, 325.

He consults between 12 and 100 chant sources primarily of Germanic origin.

The absence of chant sources from Constance is a significant lacuna.

While, in general, Karp's findings are rather limited, one significant trend is identified. Karp observes that

... knowledge of the intended destination of a setting does not fix the origin of the chant version being employed.¹⁸

This point is illustrated well by four polyphonic settings of the Communion "Beatus servus".¹⁹ Three settings of this chant are found in Book II (Constance) for the Propers of Saints Gebhard, Martin and Conrad and one setting is found in Book III (Habsburg) for the Common of Confessors. Three of the settings - the Propers of Gebhard and Conrad of Book II and the one from Book III - set a "highly unusual" version of the chant melody which is transmitted in manuscripts from Salzburg and Passau.²⁰ The third setting in Book II for the Proper of St Martin, on the other hand, sets a version of the chant melody not found in any of the chant sources consulted.²¹ Thus, on the one hand, we see polyphonic settings of different versions of the chant melody within one volume known to have been composed for Constance (Book II), and on the other, we see settings of identical versions of the chant in different volumes intended for separate destinations (Books II and III). Karp concludes that

It is ... likely that Isaac based the three ... setting of *Beatus servus* on a single chant source, not feeling it necessary to conform with the melodic traditions of the intended destinations. From this

¹⁸ *ibid.*, 334.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, 325-34.

²⁰ *ibid.*, 329.

²¹ *ibid.*, 333.

standpoint, one cannot even posit that his source stemmed from either Konstanz, Passau, or Vienna.²²

This type of anomaly is also seen in two settings of the Communion "Amen dico vobis" which appear in Books II and III. In this case, both settings set versions of the chant melody which correspond most closely with that transmitted in the Passau Gradual.

In several cases, Karp is unable to identify correspondences between versions of chant melodies set by Isaac and those transmitted in any of the consulted chant sources. The setting of the Communion "Beatus servus" for the Proper of St Martin in Book II, discussed above, is one such example, and another is the introit setting "Deus in adiutorium" which appears in Book I. Concluding his discussion of this last chant, Karp writes

Again we are unable to find any chant source agreeing in all respects with that which can be deduced from the polyphony.²³

In conclusion, Karp acknowledges the limitations of his study.

Although the advances in knowledge achieved during the course of this study were limited, they do fulfil all reasonable expectations. One could scarcely have hoped to identify a specific source used by Isaac in the composition of this *magnum opus* ... We observed that on the whole Isaac is reasonably faithful in his use of chant, and counterparts for individual details are normally to be found among Germanic sources, even if not all details are representative of a specific source.²⁴

²² *ibid*, 334.

²³ *ibid*, 336.

²⁴ *ibid*, 349.

The studies by Karp and Bloxam raise several issues. In the first instance, the value of searching for "a specific source" should perhaps be re-considered. Both studies show that polyphony known to have been composed for a specific institution does not necessarily conform to melodic versions of chant associated with the liturgical usage of that institution. Bloxam's work clearly demonstrates the flexibility with which composers handled their chant models. The status of chant variants in polyphonic settings should therefore be assessed. A well-known example of the problems caused by local variants in plainchant is described by Craig Wright. In November 1498, the vicars of Cambrai Cathedral were admonished for not being familiar with the antiphon melody "Salve regina" as it was sung according to the usage of Cambrai. The chapter of the Cathedral took the following steps to assure a uniform performance.

Thus the *Salve* was painted on a tablet that was affixed to the wall of the chapel of the Trinity just as the *Alma redemptoris mater* had been painted on a tablet placed in the chapel of Notre-Dame Flamande ... That the *Salve* was notated in monophonic chant can be seen by a record of payment to an artist to repaint the melody in 1559.²⁵

The performance of plainchant, however, which was (usually) sung from memory, is a different context to that of polyphony which was performed from written sources. Variants in melodic versions of chant set polyphonically were read and not remembered. The relative lack of emphasis placed on chant variants in polyphony is witnessed by the copying and transmission of such works in manuscripts outside of the institutions for which the music was originally composed.

²⁵ Wright, 'Performance Practices at Cambrai', 304-05

It appears, therefore, that while similarities between versions of chant set polyphonically and that transmitted in local chant sources may support the association of polyphony with a particular locale, at the same time, diversity between the polyphonic chant versions and local chant sources need not necessarily preclude the polyphony from originating from that locale. It may have been composed there anyway. While composers may have worked with a particular chant source or sources, modern day scholars should not underestimate the vast quantities of chant that were committed to memory by 15th-century singers and musicians. In setting chant polyphonically, composers must have been as likely to rely on their own internalised chant resources, settings versions of chant with which they were familiar, could remember or simply preferred, as to make use of “a specific” chant source.

This study explores further the liturgical traditions with which Isaac may have been familiar, through consideration of his Office chant settings. Isaac's choice of chant as well as the versions of chant melodies he sets are taken into account. New chant sources are identified for several antiphons including the Marian antiphon "Ave sanctissima Maria". The melodic versions of chant set by Isaac are compared with both contemporary chant sources as well as with other contemporary polyphonic settings. In this way, it may be possible to associate versions of chant set by Isaac not only with specific liturgical traditions but also with specific polyphonic repertoires.

Consulted chant sources

The chant sources consulted are listed below. Evidently, the limited number of chant sources consulted restricts, at present, the scope of this study.

1. Antiphonale Pataviense (1519) (AP)

The Antiphonale Pataviense of 1519 and the slightly earlier Graduale Pataviense of 1511 were printed in Vienna by Johann Winterburger (c. 1460-1519).²⁶ Their publication in Vienna supports the assumption, outlined above, that the cathedral of Vienna continued to follow the liturgical rite of Passau after its separation from the Passau diocese in 1469. It is often assumed that these two sources reflect the liturgical usage followed at the Habsburg court, although it is possible, of course, that the court was not closely tied to the diocesan rite. AP contains chants for the Office, predominantly antiphons and responsories, for the entire church year. It opens with the temporale and sanctorale of the pars hiemalis followed by the temporale and sanctorale for the pars aestivalis. The volume closes with a complete communale and a few suffragia.²⁷

²⁶ Facsimiles of both sources are published in EDM 88 and EDM 87 respectively
²⁷ Bloxam, 'A Survey'. 98.

2. Antiphonarium proprium et comune sanctorum ordine sante Romane ecclesiae (Rome)

This large-folio Roman antiphoner was first published about 1499 by Johannes Emerich of Spira for Antonia Giunta at Venice.²⁸ It was edited by Franciscus de Brugis. This study refers to the edition of 1503-04.²⁹ Emerich (fl. 1487-1506) was born in the town of Udenheim in the diocese of Speyer (Spira) and began printing for Luca Antonia Giunta in 1494.³⁰ Liturgical books, especially those with music, were his speciality. Two works in large-folio size, the Graduale Romanum of 1499/1500 and its companion volume, the Antiphonarum Romanum, consulted here, are among his most impressive music publications.

3. Antiffanarium per circulum anni³¹ (Augs)

This Antiphonal was printed by Erhard Ratdolt (1477-1527/8) in Augsburg in February 1495.³² Ratdolt was a prolific German printer who worked firstly in Venice and, from 1485, in Augsburg.³³ His Augsburg publications are almost exclusively liturgical and include liturgical books for various dioceses in southern Germany, Austria and Switzerland. In October 1491, he was commissioned by the Bishop of Augsburg, Friedrich von Hohenzollern, to produce a new Mass book for the city. A

²⁸ Bohatta, Liturgische Bibliographie, 3, no. 27; Meyer-Baer, Liturgical Incunabula, 3, no. 11; Bloxam, 'A Survey', 101-03; Duggan, Italian Music Incunabula, 129-42, 201.

²⁹ British Library, shelfmark C.18.e.9.

³⁰ Krummel and Sadie, Music Printing, 230.

³¹ British Library, shelfmark IB 6753.

³² Bohatta, Liturgische Bibliographie, 2, no. 23; Meyer-Baer, Liturgical Incunabula, 2, no. 9; Schottenloher, Die liturgischen Druckwerke, p. xiv; see also Pätzig, 'Liturgische', 23.

³³ Schottenloher, Die liturgischen Druckwerke, p. xiv; Krummel and Sadie, Music Printing, 385-6, see also Diehl, Erhard Ratdolt.

Missale for Augsburg was published in the same year and was followed by several further liturgical books for Augsburg including a Chorbrevier in 1493, a Breviary in 1495 and this Antiphonal in 1495. Schottenloher describes the work thus

Das Augsburger Antiphonarium gehört zu den umfangreichsten Notendruckten Ratdolts.³⁴

The dedication which prefaces the volume refers to Friedrich, Bishop of Augsburg and the volume includes chants in honour of Augsburg saints St Afra and St Ulric.³⁵

4. Responsoria noviter cum notis expressa: de tempore et de sanctis per totum annum: regentibus et scholaribus utilissima³⁶ (Nur 1509)

This Responsoriale was printed in Nuremberg in 1509 by Johann Stuchs (d ?Nuremberg after 1546).³⁷ Johann's father, Georg Stuchs, is a significant figure in the history of early music printing in Nuremberg.³⁸ Georg began printing in Nuremberg in 1484 and is famous above all as a printer of liturgical books. Johann took over the business from his father and the Responsoriale of 1509 was the first publication to be issued under his name.³⁹ The book is largely a collection of responsories and as a liturgical source could have been used in much of southern Germany. It

³⁴ Schottenloher, Die liturgischen Druckwerke, p.xiv.

³⁵ The preface is not, however, included in exemplar held in the British Library.

³⁶ British Library, shelfmark MK 8.b.1.

³⁷ Baumann, 'Die Druckerei Stuchs' ; Cohen, Musikdruck und -drucker, 47.

³⁸ Krummel and Sadie, Music Printing, 438-9.

³⁹ Baumann, 'Die Druckerei Stuchs', 130-32 where a complete list of Johann Stuch's publications is given

includes chants in honour of the patron saints of Bamberg - to which diocese Nuremberg belonged - Saints Henry and Cunegund, the patron saint of Nuremberg, St Sebald and of Augsburg, St Ulric. It is similar in many ways to the Responsoriale of 1550 printed by Johannes Petreius (see below). Like this later source, it too could have been used as teaching material in schools or churches. The book is organised in three sections. It opens with chants of the Temporale (II-LXIII'), followed by those of the Sanctorale (LXV-CX') and ends with the Common of the Saints (XCI-CXXV').

5. Responsorialia, que annuatim in veteri Ecclesia de Tempore, Festis, et Sanctis cantari solent. Additis etiam quibusdam aliis communibus canticis, uti in Indice omnia cernere licet.⁴⁰ (Nur 1550)

This Responsoriale was printed in Nuremberg in 1550 by Johann Petreius (1497-1550).⁴¹ Petreius became a citizen of Nuremberg in 1523, establishing his own type foundry there in 1525.⁴² He was an extremely prolific printer, about 800 publications are known. Many of his works were intended for school use. The Responsoriale is prefaced with a dedication to youth - "Candidis Iuvenibus" - and is described by Teramoto as "kirchenmusikalischer Übungstoff".⁴³ The book has few

⁴⁰ British Library, shelfmark MK 8 b.2.

⁴¹ An inventory of the work is published in Teramoto and Brinzing, Katalog der Musikdrucke, 121-9, see also Teramoto, Die Psalmmotetendrucke, 84.

⁴² Krummel and Sadie, Music Printing, 364-5.

⁴³ Teramoto and Brinzing, Katalog der Musikdrucke, 82. A facsimile of the preface which opens this source is reproduced on p.184.

local chants and, like the Responsoriale of 1509, could have been used in much of southern Germany.

Newly-identified chant sources

Ave sanctissima Maria

In a paper given at the 23rd conference of Medieval and Renaissance music held at Southampton University in July 1996, Bonnie Blackburn explored musical settings of the prayer "Ave sanctissima Maria".⁴⁴ Supposedly written by Pope Sixtus IV (1471-84) and carrying an indulgence of 11,000 years, the prayer was set to music by over 30 composers including Isaac, Ludwig Senfl and Jean Mouton. There are also numerous anonymous settings. Blackburn identified two versions of the text: one, which she termed a "southern" version, written in the first person singular, musical settings of which are found predominantly in Italian sources; and one, which she termed a "northern" version, written in the first person plural, settings of which are found chiefly in German sources. Several settings of the 'northern' version of the text set a chant cantus firmus (see table 3.1).

⁴⁴ B. Blackburn: 'Coram imagine: Personal Piety and the Late Fifteenth-Century Motet', Paper given at the 23rd conference of Medieval and Renaissance music, University of Southampton, 5-9 July 1996

Table 3.1: Polyphonic settings of the Marian antiphon "Ave sanctissima Maria"

	Composer	No. of voices	Source
1.	Anon	a4	Leipzig 1494
2.	Anon	a4	Regensburg C.120
3.	Isaac	a4	RISM 1520 ⁴
4.	Senfl	a5	<u>Mater digna Dei - Ave sanctissima Maria</u> Munich 12

A chant source for the Marian antiphon "Ave sanctissima Maria" has not hitherto been found. In his dissertation, Just offers a reconstruction of the chant based on a comparison of Isaac's motet with Senfl's five-voice tenor motet Mater digna Dei - Ave sanctissima Maria in which the antiphon appears as cantus firmus in breves in the tenor voice.⁴⁵ I have now identified a chant source for this antiphon. The chant appears in a small group of Marian antiphons found towards the end of the chant source Responsoria noviter cum notis expressa ... printed in Nuremberg by Johannes Stuchs in 1509 (CXXII - CXXII') (described above; see also example 3.1). Figure 3.1 reproduces the chant from this source. The chant has an ambitus (B) c - c' (d') with final on F and bflat signature. It now becomes clear that both Isaac and Senfl use transposed versions of the chant. Both composers transpose the chant melody up a fifth from F to C and it is therefore a transposed version of the chant, with final on C, that Just presents in his dissertation.

⁴⁵

Just, 'Studien', I. 141-2.

nobis saluatoris qui iohannes videns exda
 mabat dicens, ecce agnus dei ecce qui tollis pec
 catumundi al lectua. *Enonae.*
A De sanctis sana mar
 mater de i. regina celi. po: ta parady
 do mina mundi. Tu ce singula ris virgo
 qu
 pu ra. Tu coepisti te sum sine pecca to.
 Tu peperisti creatu rem et saltato rem
 mundi in quo ego non du biro. *Enonae.*
 no bis ie sup tuu dilectu filium et libera
 nos ab om ni bua ma lis. *Enonae.*
D io de
 sumus.
 Sol uedomi ne

Example 3.1: Nur 1509, 'Ave sanctissima Maria', fol. CXXII-CXXIII

Ave Sanctissima Maria

A - - ve sanc - - tis - - si - - ma

Ma - ri - - a ma - ter de - - i re - gi - na

cae - li por - - - ta pa - ra - di - - - si

do - - mi - - na mun - - di. Tu es

sín - gu - - la - - ris vir - go pu - - - ra

tu con - ce - pi - sti Je - - sum si - ne pec - ca - - - to

tu pe - pe - ri - sti cre - a - to - - - rum et

sal - va - to - - - rem mun - - di in quo

e - - go non du - - bi - - to. O - - - ra

pro no - - - bis Je - - - sum tu - um di - lec - tum

fi - li - - um et li - be - - ra nos ab

om - - - ni - bus ma - - - lis.

The earliest of the polyphonic settings listed in table 3.1 is probably the anonymous four-voice setting transmitted uniquely in the manuscript, Leipzig 1494, the so-called 'Apel codex'.⁴⁶ This manuscript, named after Magister Nikolaus Apel (c.1470-1537), a student and later Professor at Leipzig University, was compiled before 1504, the year in which it was bound. In this work, the antiphon melody appears at pitch in the tenor voice notated in black breves and longs (Hufnagelschrift). The ϕ mensuration of the tenor voice against c in the outer voices means that the tenor values are halved. The work is in one section and belongs to the type of strict cantus-planus-bearbeitung described by Just, in which the chant melody is presented in a seamless flow of pitches in a single voice, without break or pause.⁴⁷

Rainer Birkendorf suggests that the anonymous four-voice setting of the antiphon transmitted uniquely in the Pernner codex may be by Ludwig Senfl.⁴⁸ Birkendorf sees the influence of Isaac in the unattributed piece drawing parallels between this work and Isaac's four-voice setting (described below) most notably in the division of both works into three sections.⁴⁹ Changes in mensuration mark the sectional divisions in the unattributed piece and there are additional mensuration changes within the second and third sections thus: first section O2; second section ϕ 3 ... ϕ ; third section \emptyset ... ϕ ... 3 ... ϕ .⁵⁰ The work appears in the second section of the Pernner codex (fol. 232-237) which Birkendorf believes

⁴⁶ An edition of this work is published in EDM 33:283-4.

⁴⁷ Just, Der Mensuralkodex, I.134-5, see also chapter 2 above.

⁴⁸ Birkendorf, Der Codex Pernner, I 239-40.

⁴⁹ *ibid*; an edition of this work has not been published.

⁵⁰ My thanks to Professor David Fallows for kindly lending me a microfilm copy of this manuscript.

was copied in Augsburg by Lucas Wagenrieder between 1520-21 following the dissolution of the Imperial chapel.⁵¹ The work is transmitted with textual incipit only. The antiphon melody appears most consistently in the superius voice. Little melodic embellishment of the chant is seen.

Isaac's four-voice setting of the antiphon is transmitted in the printed source, the Liber selectarum cantionum of 1520 (RISM 1520⁴) and is listed by title in Heidelberg 318.⁵² The printed volume of motets is dedicated to Cardinal Matthäus Lang, Archbishop of Salzburg and adviser to Maximilian I. The collection was compiled and edited by Senfl and reflects the repertory of the Imperial chapel.⁵³ It preserves five motets by Isaac, opening with the six-voice tenor motet Optime divino / Da pacem / Sacerdos et pontifex.

The antiphon setting Ave sanctissima Maria is one of the most elaborate and sophisticated of all Isaac's chant settings.⁵⁴ It is a magnificent example of Isaac's imitative cantus firmus treatment. The chant melody is diffused through all the voices in imitative counterpoint. The three sections of the work are structured according to the sense of the text: the first section describes the four attributes of the Virgin Mary - Mater Dei, Regina caeli, Porta paradisi, domina mundi; in the second section Mary is worshipped as the Mother of God; and

⁵¹ Birkendorf, Der Codex Pernner, I 265.

⁵² The manuscript Heidelberg 318 is not listed by Picker in the work's sources, see A. Guide, 86.

⁵³ Birkendorf, Der Codex Pernner, I.114-17.

⁵⁴ An edition of this work is published in CW 100:9-16; see also Just, 'Studien', I:141-8 and this study chapter two for a discussion of cantus firmus treatment in this work.

finally the last section comprises a plea to Mary for intercession and deliverance.

Just describes the work thus

Die Motette ist zweifellos eine der bedeutendsten Schöpfungen Isaacs und sicher erst in seinen letzten Lebensjahren entstanden.⁵⁵

The work's transmission in a source which reflects the repertory of the Imperial court chapel strongly suggests that the antiphon setting was composed for that institution.

Senfl's five-voice tenor motet Mater digna dei - Ave sanctissima Maria is preserved uniquely in the choirbook Munich 12.⁵⁶ This is one of two books of motets which were copied for the Munich Hofkapelle between about 1525-30 (the other is Munich 10).⁵⁷ Munich 12 was probably copied by Senfl himself together with another chapel member Lucas Wagenrieder.⁵⁸ Following the dissolution of the Imperial chapel in 1520, both Senfl and Wagenrieder moved to the Bavarian court chapel in Munich, Senfl probably arriving there in early 1523. Senfl's motet is copied on folios 55v - 69r of the manuscript and is prefaced with the following dedication (f.55r)

Oratio ad incomparabilem Virginem / Mariam commendatitia, ex singulari / devotione et mandato, serenissimi / utriusque Boioariae Principis Guilielmi etc. / a Ludovico Senflio serenitatis / ipsius intonatorem musico quam / exactissima diligentia, / animoque prorsus ad iussa / et vota clementissima / principis sui ob= / sequentissimo / emusicata / dicataque⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Just, 'Studien', I.148.

⁵⁶ An edition of this work is published in CW 62:1-14

⁵⁷ Bente, Neue Wege, 62-71.

⁵⁸ An inventory of this manuscript if published in Bente et al Katalog der Musikhandschriften, 74-5.

⁵⁹ ibid, 75.

The dedication indicates that the work was commissioned by Duke Wilhelm IV of Bavaria.⁶⁰ Bente suggests that the motet may have been one of the first works Senfl composed in Munich.⁶¹

In Senfl's work the antiphon "Ave sanctissima Maria" appears as cantus firmus in the middle voice while the outer voices sing the text "Mater digna dei". The texts of both the tenor voice and outer voices are thus complimentary in that both are prayers addressed to the Virgin Mary. Senfl's motet is also in three sections and has the same divisions as we have seen in Isaac's work and in the anonymous, four-voice setting transmitted in the Pernner codex. The tenor sings the antiphon melody entirely in breves and there is no melodic embellishment of the chant. Moreover, the tenor voice is fully ligatured in the manuscript source so that each text syllable of the antiphon may be correctly placed. This work therefore transmits a very precise version of the antiphon melody.

Figure 3.2 compares the melodic versions of the antiphon set in the polyphonic works with the chant melody as transmitted in the Nuremberg chant source. The elaboration of the chant melody in Isaac's setting, occasionally makes the precise chant version set in this work difficult to determine. Notwithstanding this, it can be seen that the melodic versions of the chant set by Senfl and by the anonymous composer in the Pernner codex agree most closely. These two settings share variants not seen in the other versions of the chant. Compare for example:

⁶⁰ Bente, *Neue Wege*, 306.

⁶¹ *ibid.*, 65

"tu es singula <u>ri</u> s":	two-note melismas on the last two syllables of "singularis" are seen in Nur, Leip and Isaac, but not in Senfl or Pernner
"virgo <u>pu</u> ra":	descending stepwise movement from g-c is seen in Senfl and Pernner whereas melismas in Nur and Leip include a leap of a third g-e. Nur also ends on d rather than c.
"in <u>qu</u> o"	descent from g-e followed by rising 3rd d-f seen in Senfl and Pernner, whereas descent from g-c seen in Nur, Leip and Isaac followed by stepwise ascent b-c

Melodic variants are seen between all other versions of the chant. Isaac and Senfl do not appear to set the same version of the chant. Compare for example: "virgo pura"; "salvatorem mundi"; "in quo ego"; "ora pro nobis". None of the polyphonic works sets the version of the antiphon melody transmitted in the chant source. Note in particular:

"ora pro <u>no</u> bis"	melisma on <u>no</u> bis in Nur not seen in any other version
" <u>J</u> esum"	phrase begins on c in Nur and on b in all other versions.

To conclude: Birkdendorf's attribution of the anonymous setting transmitted in the Pernner codex to Senfl is corroborated by the similarities between the chant versions set in the anonymous work and in Senfl's tenor motet. Isaac and Senfl do not appear to set the same version of the antiphon melody. Nor do any of the polyphonic settings set the version of the chant transmitted in the Nuremberg chant source. The limited transmission of both the chant and its polyphonic settings - all four compositions are unique to their respective sources - suggests

that the antiphon belonged to a local liturgical tradition. The transmission of two of the polyphonic settings in sources which reflect the repertory of the Imperial chapel indicates that these works were composed for that institution. It is possible that Senfl also learnt of the chant during his time at the Habsburg court and took it with him to his new post. This suggestion is supported by the similarity in chant versions set by Senfl and the anonymous composer in the Pernner codex, as well as by Bente's proposal that Senfl's tenor motet was among the first works he composed for the Bavarian court. The cluster of settings connected with the Imperial chapel of Maximilian I suggests that the antiphon may have belonged to the liturgical rite followed by the court. In this context, is it interesting to observe that the antiphon is not transmitted in the chant source AP.

Figure 3.2

Ave sanctissima Maria

Handwritten musical score for five voices: Nur, Leip, Senfl, Isaac, and Pernner. The music is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The lyrics are: A- ve sanc- tis- si- ma. The score shows the vocal lines with notes and lyrics, including phrasing slurs.

Continuation of the musical score for five voices: Nur, Leip, Senfl, Isaac, and Pernner. The music is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The lyrics are: ma- ri- a. The score shows the vocal lines with notes and lyrics, including phrasing slurs.

Figure 3.2 (contd)

Figure 3.2 (contd) displays a musical score for five voices: Nur, Leip, Senfl, Isaac, and Pernner. The score is written in G major (one sharp) and 8/8 time. The lyrics are "ma-ter de-i". The notation includes treble clefs, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a time signature of 8/8. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables across measures. The notes are half notes, and the lyrics are "ma-ter de-i".

Nur
ma-ter de-i

Leip
ma-ter de-i

Senfl
ma-ter de-i

Isaac
ma-ter de-i

Pernner
ma-ter de-i

Figure 3.2 (contd) displays a musical score for five voices: Nur, Leip, Senfl, Isaac, and Pernner. The score is written in G major (one sharp) and 8/8 time. The lyrics are "re-gi-na cae-li". The notation includes treble clefs, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a time signature of 8/8. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables across measures. The notes are half notes, and the lyrics are "re-gi-na cae-li".

Nur
re-gi-na cae-li

Leip
re-gi-na cae-li

Senfl
re-gi-na cae-li

Isaac
re-gi-na cae-li

Pernner
re-gi-na cae-li

Figure 3.2 (contd)

Figure 3.2 (contd) displays a musical score for five voices: Nur, Leip, Senfl, Isaac, and Pernner. The score is written in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are "por-ta pa-ra-dy-si". The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and slurs, indicating the pitch and rhythm of the melody. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables that span multiple notes. The score is organized into five staves, each corresponding to a voice part.

Figure 3.2 (contd) displays a musical score for five voices: Nur, Leip, Senfl, Isaac, and Pernner. The score is written in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are "Do-mi-na mun-di". The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and slurs, indicating the pitch and rhythm of the melody. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables that span multiple notes. The score is organized into five staves, each corresponding to a voice part.

Figure 3.2 (contd)

Handwritten musical score for five voices (Nur, Leip, Senfl, Isaac, Pernner) in G major, 8/8 time. The lyrics are: "Tu es sin-gu-la-ris".

The score consists of five staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The time signature is 8/8. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables that span multiple notes. Brackets are used to group notes under a single syllable.

Nur: Tu es sin-gu-la-ris

Leip: Tu es sin-gu-la-ris

Senfl: Tu es sin-gu-la-ris

Isaac: Tu es sin-gu-la-ris

Pernner: Tu es sin-gu-la-ris

Handwritten musical score for five voices (Nur, Leip, Senfl, Isaac, Pernner) in G major, 8/8 time. The lyrics are: "vir-go pu-ra".

The score consists of five staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The time signature is 8/8. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables that span multiple notes. Brackets are used to group notes under a single syllable.

Nur: vir-go pu-ra

Leip: vir-go pu-ra

Senfl: vir-go pu-ra

Isaac: vir-go pu-ra

Pernner: vir-go pu-ra

Figure 3.2 (contd)

Figure 3.2 (contd) displays a musical score for five voices: Nur, Leip, Senfl, Isaac, and Pernner. The score is written in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The lyrics are: "tu con- ce- pi- sti Je- sum". The notes are as follows:

- Nur:** G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), D5 (half), E5 (quarter), F#5 (quarter), G5 (quarter).
- Leip:** G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), D5 (half), E5 (quarter), F#5 (quarter), G5 (quarter).
- Senfl:** G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), D5 (half), E5 (quarter), F#5 (quarter), G5 (quarter).
- Isaac:** G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), D5 (half), E5 (quarter), F#5 (quarter), G5 (quarter).
- Pernner:** G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), D5 (half), E5 (quarter), F#5 (quarter), G5 (quarter).

Figure 3.2 (contd) displays a musical score for five voices: Nur, Leip, Senfl, Isaac, and Pernner. The score is written in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The lyrics are: "si- ne pec- ca- to". The notes are as follows:

- Nur:** G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), D5 (half), E5 (quarter), F#5 (quarter), G5 (quarter).
- Leip:** G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), D5 (half), E5 (quarter), F#5 (quarter), G5 (quarter).
- Senfl:** G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), D5 (half), E5 (quarter), F#5 (quarter), G5 (quarter).
- Isaac:** G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), D5 (half), E5 (quarter), F#5 (quarter), G5 (quarter).
- Pernner:** G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), D5 (half), E5 (quarter), F#5 (quarter), G5 (quarter).

Figure 3.2 (contd)

Handwritten musical score for five voices: Nur, Leip, Senfl, Isaac, and Pernner. The lyrics are "Tu pe-pe-ri-sti cre-a-to-rem". The notation is in G-clef, 8/8 time, with lyrics written below the notes. Brackets indicate phrasing.

Nur: Tu pe-pe-ri-sti cre-a-to-rem

Leip: Tu pe-pe-ri-sti cre-a-to

Senfl: Tu pe-pe-ri-sti cre-a-to-rem

Isaac: Tu pe-pe-ri-sti cre-a-to-rem

Pernner: Tu pe-pe-ri-sti cre-a-to-rem

Handwritten musical score for five voices: Nur, Leip, Senfl, Isaac, and Pernner. The lyrics are "et sal-va-to-rem mun-di". The notation is in G-clef, 8/8 time, with lyrics written below the notes. Brackets indicate phrasing.

Nur: et sal-va-to-rem mun-di

Leip: rem et sal-va-to-rem mun-di

Senfl: et sal-va-to-rem mun-di

Isaac: et sal-va-to-rem

Pernner: et sal-va-to-rem mun-di

Figure 3.2 (contd)

Handwritten musical score for five voices: Nur, Leip, Senfl, Isaac, and Pernner. The lyrics are "in quo e- go".

Nur
in quo e- go

Leip
in quo e- go

Senfl
in quo e- go

Isaac
in quo e- go

Pernner
in quo e- go

Handwritten musical score for five voices: Nur, Leip, Senfl, Isaac, and Pernner. The lyrics are "non du- bi- to".

Nur
non du- bi- to

Leip
non du- bi- to

Senfl
non du- bi- to

Isaac
non du- bi- to

Pernner
non du- bi- to

Figure 3.2 (contd)

Handwritten musical score for five voices: Nur, Leip, Senfl, Isaac, and Pernner. The music is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The lyrics are "ra pro no- bis".

The score consists of five staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are written below the notes. The notes are mostly quarter and half notes, with some rests. The lyrics are "ra pro no- bis".

Nur
Leip
Senfl
Isaac
Pernner

Handwritten musical score for five voices: Nur, Leip, Senfl, Isaac, and Pernner. The music is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The lyrics are "Je- sum".

The score consists of five staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are written below the notes. The notes are mostly quarter and half notes, with some rests. The lyrics are "Je- sum".

Nur
Leip
Senfl
Isaac
Pernner

Figure 3.2 (contd)

Handwritten musical score for five voices: Nur, Leip, Senfl, Isaac, and Pernner. The lyrics are: "tu-um di-lec-tum fi-li-um".

Nur
tu-um di-lec-tum fi-li-um

Leip
tu-um di-lec-tum fi-li-um

Senfl
tu-um di-lec-tum fi-li-um

Isaac
tu-um di-lec-tum fi-li-um

Pernner
tu-um di-lec-tum fi-li-um

Handwritten musical score for five voices: Nur, Leip, Senfl, Isaac, and Pernner. The lyrics are: "et li-be-ra nos".

Nur
et li-be-ra nos

Leip
et li-be-ra nos

Senfl
et li-be-ra nos

Isaac
et li-be-ra nos

Pernner
et li-be-ra nos

Figure 3.2 (contd)

Handwritten musical score for five voices: Nur, Leip, Senfl, Isaac, and Pernner. The music is in G major (one sharp) and 8/8 time. The lyrics are "ab om-ni-bus".

The score consists of five staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The time signature is 8/8. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables that span multiple notes. Brackets are used to group notes that belong to a single syllable.

Nur
ab om- ni- bus

Leip
ab om- ni- bus

Senfl
ab om- ni- bus

Isaac
ab om- ni- bus

Pernner
ab om- ni- bus

Handwritten musical score for five voices: Nur, Leip, Senfl, Isaac, and Pernner. The music is in G major (one sharp) and 8/8 time. The lyrics are "ma-lis".

The score consists of five staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The time signature is 8/8. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables that span multiple notes. Brackets are used to group notes that belong to a single syllable.

Nur
ma- lis

Leip
ma- lis

Senfl
ma- lis

Isaac
ma- lis

Pernner
ma- lis

Gaude, Dei genitrix

The Marian antiphon "Gaude, Dei genitrix" is not found in any of the chant sources listed on p.173-77. It is, however, transmitted in the Neumarkt Cantionale, a Silesian source which dates from 1474/84.⁶² This manuscript transmits mainly antiphons and processional songs and its repertory spans the whole liturgical year. The antiphon "Gaude, Dei genitrix" is designated in festo assumptionis BMV.⁶³

Polyphonic settings of the antiphon "Gaude, Dei genitrix" include:

1. Anon a3 Trent 91 (Nr. 1320); Glog
2. Isaac a4 Regensburg C.120
3. Senfl a4 Munich 12
4. B.H. a4 Berlin 40021; Warsaw 2016

Leaving aside momentarily the four-voice setting of the antiphon attributed to B.H., the three other settings appear to belong to polyphonic repertories that are linked both institutionally and musically. The anonymous three-voice setting, probably the earliest of the three works, may have been composed for the Imperial chapel of Frederick III while certainly Isaac's work and possibly also Senfl's were composed for the chapel of Maximilian I.

⁶² Schmitz, 'Ein schlesisches Cantional'; see also Strohm, The Rise of European Music, 332.

⁶³ A transcription of the chant from this source is published in EDM 8 76.

On the basis of its repertory and watermarks, Suparmi Saunders dates c.1468-73 the copying and compilation of the manuscript Trent 91.⁶⁴ Connections between this manuscript and the royal chapel of Frederick III are suggested in a recent study by Adelyn Leverett.⁶⁵ She finds close links between the anonymous chant paraphrase repertory preserved in Trent 91, and also in the Glogauer Liederbuch, and the chant dialect of Passau, to which rite she believes the Imperial court chapel at Wiener Neustadt adhered. Her argument is corroborated by evidence of a rather sophisticated musical establishment at the court in the late 1460s and early 1470s which may have included musicians such as Johannes Touront and Johannes Martini.

Leverett's study also details the close connections between Trent 91 and the Glogauer Liederbuch. The manuscripts share many concordances and probably a parent source. The Glogauer Liederbuch was compiled c.1478-80 in Silesia and is also primarily a collection of sacred polyphony. Reinhard Strohm argues that the compiler and first owner of the manuscript may have been Andreas Ritter, reference to whom is found in the text of the four-voice motet Probitate eminentem - Ploditando exarare, transmitted in this source.⁶⁶ Ritter (c.1440-1480) was a canon in the Augustinian Abbey of Sagan from c.1465.

⁶⁴ Saunders, The Dating of the Trent Codices, 96-105.

⁶⁵ Leverett, 'A Palaeographical and Repertorial Study', see especially chapter two 'Plainchant Paraphrases in Trent 91: Trent, Passau and the Imperial Court'; see also Leverett, 'An Early Missa brevis,'. A connection between Trent 91 and the chapel of Frederick III is also suggested by Just in 'Polyphony Based on Chant' 150.

⁶⁶ Strohm, The Rise, 501-03; see also Just, "Polyphony based on Chant", 129-51.

The anonymous antiphon setting Gaude, Dei genitrix forms part of a Vespers collection which is copied in fascicles 16-18 in the Trent manuscript. A connection between this work and the chapel of Frederick III cannot be ruled out. This is a cantus-planus-bearbeitung in one section with the antiphon melody carried mainly in breves in the highest voice.⁶⁷ Little melodic embellishment of the chant is seen.

Isaac's four-voice setting of the antiphon is transmitted uniquely in the Pernner codex.⁶⁸ Rainer Birkendorf believes that the second section of this manuscript, in which Isaac's work appears, was copied in Augsburg between 1520-21 following the dissolution of the Imperial chapel.⁶⁹ It seems likely, therefore, that Isaac's work dates from his period of employment at the Imperial court. In this work, the antiphon melody migrates through the tenor, superius and bassus voices, appearing most frequently in the tenor voice. The antiphon melody is presented in breve and semibreve values with little melodic decoration. Pitches additional to the chant are usually set in short note values.

Senfl's work is transmitted uniquely in Munich 12, a manuscript believed to have been copied for the Bavarian court chapel of Duke Wilhelm IV.⁷⁰ This manuscript transmits works by Senfl and Josquin and has been described above in connection with Senfl's tenor motet Mater digna Dei / Ave sanctissima Maria.

⁶⁷ An edition of this work is published in EDM 8.31-2.

⁶⁸ For a discussion of cantus firmus treatment in this work see chapter two. An edition of this work is included in Appendix I.

⁶⁹ Birkendorf, Der Codex Pernner, I.265-7.

⁷⁰ An edition of this work is published in SenflW, xi, 59-64; see also Bente, Neue Wege, 62-6.

While Bente suggests that this last motet was among the first Senfl composed for the Bavarian court chapel, he dates slightly earlier the works by Senfl copied by his scribe III in this manuscript, including the two-part motet Gaude, Dei genitrix.

Wir datieren also die Entstehung der Werke Senfls zwischen 1520 und 1525, wobei die von Schreiber III notierten früher zu datieren sind als die von Schreiber II ingrossierten Werke.⁷¹

It is therefore possible that Senfl's motet Gaude, Dei genitrix was composed at the Habsburg court chapel, prior to his arrival in Munich in 1523, a suggestion supported by the similarity in chant versions set by Isaac and Senfl (see below). Senfl's motet is on a much larger scale than either Isaac's setting or the anonymous three-voice setting of the antiphon. It is in two sections and opens with the antiphon melody stated in close imitation in the tenor and superius voices. Towards the end of the first section the superius loses its role as cantus firmus-carrying voice and the antiphon melody is heard principally in the tenor voice. In the second section, the cantus firmus statement is consistently interrupted through repetition of the chant's phrases. The presentation of the chant moves into the background as musical devices such as imitation and repetition take precedence. The piece ends with the final phrase "Ad Dominum Jesum Christum" stated in extended note values in the tenor voice.

The three works are also linked musically. All three settings share a significant variant in the version of the chant they set. In the Neumarkt Cationale, the

⁷¹

Bente, Neue Wege, 66

chant ends with the phrase "perpetua interventrix". All three polyphonic settings, however, set one further phrase which is texted in the settings by Senfl and anonymous with the phrase "ad Dominum Jesum Christum" (see figure 3.3). Isaac's setting transmitted in the Pernner codex is copied with textual incipits only.

Strohm believes that Maximilian's chapel, re-established in Vienna in 1498, grew out of several elements, including the household chapel of his father, Frederick III (d.1493) as well as the collegiate foundation of King Frederick in Wiener Neustadt.⁷² That a polyphonic repertoire was transmitted from one chapel to the other is also possible. The shared variants in the polyphonic settings of the antiphon "Gaude, Dei genitrix" transmitted in Trent 91/Glog and in settings emanating from the court of Maximilian I, suggests that the two repertoires may have been connected. The limited transmission of the chant and its polyphonic settings, suggests that the antiphon formed part of a local liturgical rite. Here again, it is interesting to note that the antiphon is not transmitted in the chant source AP, a source thought to reflect the liturgical usage of both the chapel of Frederick III and Maximilian I.

Returning briefly to the four-voice setting of the antiphon attributed to B.H. in the manuscript Berlin 40021. This work stands somewhat apart from the three other settings discussed thus far.⁷³ It is one of seven works attributed to B.H. in the Berlin manuscript. Just suggests that B.H. may have been a German

⁷² Strohm, *The Rise*, 522
⁷³ EDM 77 258-62

composer, perhaps working in the environs of Leipzig University.⁷⁴ The work is in one section and the antiphon melody appears predominantly in breves in the tenor voice. Rests in the tenor voice separate the chant phrases. The setting comes to an abrupt end, however, at the end of the phrase "te laudant facture". The voices cadence to F and close on a fermata-held chord. The remainder of the chant is not set.

⁷⁴Just, Der Mensuralkodex, 211

Figure 3.3

Gaude dei genitrix

Handwritten musical score for the hymn "Gaude dei genitrix". The score is written for four parts: N.C. (likely Nuntius Chorus), Isaac, Senfl, and Tr 91 (likely Tenor 1). The music is in 8/8 time, indicated by the '8' in the N.C. part. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are: "Gau- de de- i ge- ni- trix". The notation includes treble clefs, a key signature of one flat, and a time signature of 8. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables across measures. Brackets are used to group notes for each syllable.

N.C. 8 Gau- de de- i ge- ni- trix

Isaac Gau- de de- i ge- ni- trix

Senfl Gau- de de- i ge- ni- trix

Tr 91 Gau- de de- i ge- ni- trix

Continuation of the handwritten musical score for "Gaude dei genitrix". The parts are N.C., Isaac, Senfl, and Tr 91. The lyrics are: "vir- go im- ma- cu- la- ta". The notation continues with treble clefs, a key signature of one flat, and a time signature of 8. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables across measures. Brackets are used to group notes for each syllable.

N.C. vir- go im- ma- cu- la- ta

Isaac vir- go im- ma- cu- la- ta

Senfl vir- go im- ma- cu- la- ta

Tr 91 vir- go im- ma- cu- la- ta


Figure 3.3 (contd)


N.C. 


Isaac 

Senfl 

Tr 91 

N.C. 

Isaac 

Senfl 

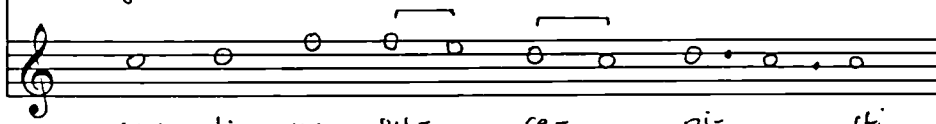
Tr 91 

Figure 3.3 (contd)

Handwritten musical score for four voices: N.C., Isaac, Senfl, and Tr 91. The lyrics are: Gav- de que ge- nu- is- ti.

The score consists of four staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are written below the notes. The notes are mostly half notes and quarter notes, with some rests. The lyrics are: Gav- de que ge- nu- is- ti.

Handwritten musical score for four voices: N.C., Isaac, Senfl, and Tr 91. The lyrics are: e- ter- ni lu- mi- nis.

The score consists of four staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are written below the notes. The notes are mostly half notes and quarter notes, with some rests. The lyrics are: e- ter- ni lu- mi- nis.

Figure 3.3 (contd)

N.C.
clā- ri- tā- tem

Isaac
clā- ri- tā- tem

Senfl
clā- ri- tā- tem

Tr 91
clā- ri- tu- tem

N.C.
Gāv- de mā- ter gāv- de

Isaac
Gāv- de mā- ter gāv- de

Senfl
Gāv- de mā- ter gāv- de

Tr 91
Gāv- de mā- ter gāv- de

Figure 3.3 (contd)

N.C.

Figure 3.3 (contd)

N.C. Te lau- dant fac- tu- re ge- ni- trix lu- cis

Isaac Te lau- dant fac- tu- re ge- ni- trix lu- cis

Senfl Te lau- dant fac- tu- re ge- ni- trix lu- cis

Tr 91 Te lau- dant fac- tu- re ge- ni- trix lu- cis


N.C. sis pro no- bis que- su- mus


Isaac sis pro no- bis que- su- mus


Senfl sis pro no- bis que- su- mus

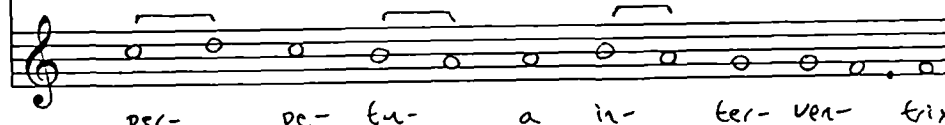
Tr 91 sis pro no- bis que- su- mus

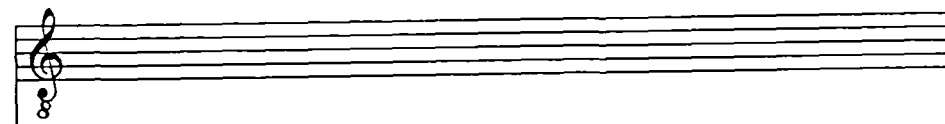
Figure 3.3 (contd)


N.C. 
per- pe- tu- a in- ter- ven- EriX

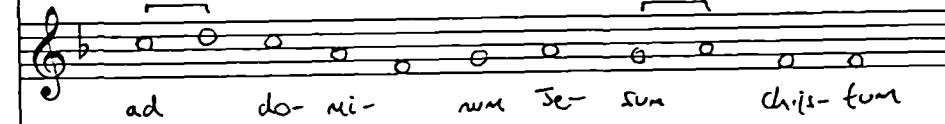
Isaac 
per- pe- tu- a in- ter- ven- EriX


Senfl 
per- pe- tu- a in- ter- ven- EriX

Tr 91 
per- pe- tu- a in- ter- ven- EriX

N.C. 
ad do- mi- num Je- sum chris- tum

Isaac 
ad do- mi- num Je- sum chris- tum

Senfl 
ad do- mi- num Je- sum chris- tum

Tr 91 
ad do- mi- num Je- sum chris- tum

Salve regina

One other antiphon setting transmitted uniquely in Trent 91 shares significant variants in the melodic version of the chant it sets with a work by Isaac. This is an anonymous, three-voice setting of the Marian antiphon "Salve regina" which is copied in Trent 91 just a few folios before the anonymous antiphon setting Gaude, Dei genitrix discussed above (Salve regina = Nr. 1317 (fol. 195'-197); Gaude, Dei genitrix = Nr. 1320 (fol. 200'-201)).⁷⁵ In the "Salve regina" setting the antiphon melody appears mainly in breves in the superius and tenor voices. This work, and also Isaac's four-voice setting Salve regina I, sets a Cistercian version of the antiphon melody.⁷⁶

The Cistercians had adopted the "Salve regina" antiphon as a daily processional chant some time after 1218.⁷⁷ This version of the antiphon melody is distinguished above all by the stepwise movement at the words "Et Jesum" which replaces the descending fourth d-a. In addition to the chant sources listed by Alfred Orel in his study of the Salve regina settings in the Trent codices, I have identified one further source which transmits this version of the antiphon melody.⁷⁸ The chant appears in the Responsoriale of 1550 printed in Nuremberg by Johannes Petreius (fol 148-150), a source which seems not to have been intended specifically for use in Nuremberg but could have been used in much of southern Germany.

⁷⁵ An edition of this work is published in DTO 53:72-4

⁷⁶ Jean de Valois, 'Le "Salve regina" dans l'ordre de Citeaux'; see also Orel Die Hauptstimme. This work is not discussed by Orel because of the appearance of the antiphon melody in the tenor voice.

⁷⁷ J.S. Ingram, 'Salve regina', Grove6.

⁷⁸ Orel, Die Hauptstimme, 35-8, 95-9

Isaac's motet is transmitted in three central European manuscripts: Berlin 40021, probably the work's earliest source; Warsaw 2016 and Basel F.IX.55.⁷⁹ In the Berlin manuscript the motet is copied in the fifteenth layer which Just dates c.1492-95.⁸⁰ It would therefore appear that this work pre-dates Isaac's appointment in the chapel of Maximilian I. The work does not, however, appear to have been composed in Florence. The monorhythmic setting of the antiphon melody in the tenor voice shows clearly the influence of central European compositional techniques. Indeed, the monorhythmic cantus firmus style has been described as "a hallmark of German plainsong settings" and is also characteristic of many pieces in Trent 91, including the "Salve regina" setting Nr 1317.⁸¹ I suggest that the central European transmission and compositional style of Isaac's motet together with the shared variants between Isaac's piece and the anonymous setting in Trent 91 support the assumption that Isaac's work may have been composed in central Europe, prior to his arrival in Florence.

Multiple settings of chant cantus firmi

Isaac's peculiar habit of re-using cantus firmus models allows comparative analysis of melodic versions of the same chant in separate compositions by a single composer. Approximate dates of composition for these works may be surmised from their transmission as well as from textual references. Thanks to the relatively well documented biography of our composer, it is consequently possible to compare versions of the same chant set polyphonically by Isaac in

⁷⁹ EDM 77:236-41

⁸⁰ Just, *Der Mensuralkodex*, II:29

⁸¹ Strohm, *The Rise*, 526; see also discussion in this study, chapter two

works which can be shown to have been composed at different stages, and at different locations, in his career. In this way, it may be possible to demonstrate the influence of local liturgical traditions on Isaac's work.

Argentum et aurum

The antiphon "Argentum et aurum" in festo SS Petri et Pauli apostolorum is used as cantus firmus in three works by Isaac: in the four-voice chant setting Argentum et aurum; in the four-voice Missa Argentum et aurum; and in the second section of the two-part motet Quid retribuam tibi, Leo. All three works can be assigned approximate dates of composition. Speculation concerning the provenance of each work may also be made.

The chant setting is transmitted in five manuscript sources including the so-called Leopold codex, Munich 3154.⁸² Thomas Noblitt, through a study of the manuscript's fascicle structure and watermarks, argues that this manuscript was compiled over a period of approximately 40 years from ca. 1466/69 to ca. 1511.⁸³ He dates the paper on to which Isaac's Argentum et aurum is copied (fol. 72^v-73, fascicle seven, watermark six) c. 1476. This is an exceptionally early date for Isaac. Staehelin has shown that the earliest extant archival reference to our composer is a record of payment from Innsbruck. Hans Fuchsmagen, chancellor to Duke Sigismund of Tyrol, rewards Isaac, describing him as "componist", in September 1484.⁸⁴ I argue above that the marked central European transmission of what I consider to be Isaac's earliest motets (including

⁸² An edition of the work from this source is published in EDM 80.249-52.

⁸³ Noblitt, 'Die Datierung'; see also this study, chapter one p.29-33

⁸⁴ Staehelin, Die Messen, II 19, see also Strohm, The Rise, 518, 538

Argentum et aurum) together with the use of distinctly central European compositional techniques (such as monorhythm) support the theory that, prior to his arrival in Florence, Isaac was working somewhere in central Europe. Perhaps at the Tyrolean court of Duke Sigismund? A broadly central European provenance may therefore be cautiously assigned to Isaac's chant setting.

A complete version of Isaac's Missa Argentum et aurum is transmitted in one source only, the manuscript Barcelona 5 (late 15th-century).⁸⁵ The *Christe* section only is transmitted in the tablature manuscript Zurich S.284a (ca. 1530) as well as another tablature source, Berlin 40026 which also preserves the second *Osanna* section (dtd 1515-24). On the basis of the work's monorhythmic cantus firmus treatment - "die ausgesprochene Pfundnoten-c.f.-Technik" - and the stylistic similarities between the mass and the chant setting, Staehelin places the composition of the mass in the late 15th century, suggesting a date of c.1484/85.⁸⁶ He believes the mass may have been composed in Italy or possibly even in the Netherlands prior to Isaac's arrival in Florence. I would argue that the monorhythmic cantus firmus treatment speaks perhaps for a central European provenance for this work also.

Isaac's three-voice motet Quid retribuam tibi, Leo is transmitted uniquely in Georg Rhau's Tricinia ... of 1542.⁸⁷ An approximate date of composition for this work may be established on the basis of its text. The text of the first section of the motet gives thanks to Pope Leo X. The motet must therefore postdate March

⁸⁵ Census-Catalogue. An edition of the mass is published in MD 8.3-44

⁸⁶ Staehelin, Die Messen, III:24-28, 195.

⁸⁷ An edition of the work is published in Rhau 9.76-8.

1513 (the Pope's accession) and is consequently a late work. Its composition may be securely placed in Florence. Isaac's return to this city in 1512 is witnessed by numerous archival documents.⁸⁸ Albert Dunning believes that Isaac may have composed the motet as an offering of thanks to the Pope who had taken a personal interest in securing a pension for the composer's retirement.⁸⁹

In summary, we can assign a broadly central European provenance to the chant setting and possibly also to the mass, while it seems fairly certain that the three-voice motet was composed in Florence.

All three works set the same version of the antiphon melody. A clear presentation of the chant is seen in the four-voice chant setting. In this work the antiphon melody is stated three times, appearing firstly in the superius voice, then migrating to the bassus voice and appearing for a final time in the tenor voice. Isaac sets each statement of the chant exclusively in breve values and there is no melodic embellishment of the chant. The Missa Argentum et aurum is a cantus firmus mass in which the antiphon melody appears in extended note values in one or more of the four voices.⁹⁰ A comparison of the cantus firmus statement in each of the mass movements shows that the same version of the chant as seen in the chant setting, is used in the mass. The antiphon also appears in the second section of the motet Quid retribuam tibi, Leo. In this work, the chant melody is rhythmically and melodically embellished to a far

⁸⁸ D'Accone, 'Heinrich Isaac in Florence', 472

⁸⁹ Dunning, Die Staatsmotette, 47 n 3

⁹⁰ The appearance of the cantus firmus is outlined by Staehelin, Die Messen, III:25.

greater extent than in the other two works. Nonetheless, the melodic outline of the chant may still be distinguished and is identical to that seen in the mass and chant setting.

Chant sources

None of the chant sources consulted transmits the chant version set by Isaac. Here the absence of chant sources from Florence is evidently an important lacuna. The antiphon does not appear at all in the chant source Augsburg. In Rome, the antiphon appears as second antiphon of Lauds, and in AP as the third antiphon of first nocturn of Matins, in festo SS Apostolorum Petri et Pauli.⁹¹ Significant melodic variants are seen between the chant versions transmitted in both chant sources and that used by Isaac (see figure 3.4). Compare, for example:

- phrase 1 "Argentum": the opening interval of the first phrase is a fifth (g-d') in Isaac and AP, but a third (b-d') in Rome;
- phrase 3 "quod autem habeo": Isaac sets a syllabic version of the chant; while both chant sources have pairs of notes on some syllables (AP "au-tem" and "ha-be-o", Rome "ha-be-o").
- phrase 4 "hoc tibi do": opens with a falling third (c"-a') on the word "hoc" in both AP and Rome. In Isaac's setting this interval is not seen, the phrase begins directly on a'.

The chant version set by Isaac is seen, however, in two roughly contemporary polyphonic works transmitted in related manuscript sources. The antiphon appears as cantus firmus in an anonymous two-part motet transmitted uniquely in the manuscript Berlin 40021 as well as in a anonymous three-voice work

⁹¹ Rome LXX; AP 159'

Figure 3.4

Argentum et aurum

Isaac

Ar- gen- tum et au- rum

AP

Ar- gen- tum et au- rum

Rome

Ar- gen- tum et au- rum

Isaac

non est mi- hi

AP

non est mi- hi

Rome

non est mi- hi

Figure 3.4 (contd)

Isaac

quod au-tem ha-be-o

AP

quod au-tem ha-be-o

Rome

quod au-tem ha-be-o

Detailed description: This block contains three staves of musical notation. Each staff begins with a treble clef and a common time signature 'C'. The notes are half notes. The lyrics 'quod au-tem ha-be-o' are written below each staff. In the AP and Rome parts, there are horizontal lines above the notes for 'au-' and 'ha-' indicating phrasing.

Isaac

hoc ti-bi do

AP

hoc ti-bi do

Rome

hoc ti-bi do

Detailed description: This block contains three staves of musical notation. Each staff begins with a treble clef and a common time signature 'C'. The notes are half notes. The lyrics 'hoc ti-bi do' are written below each staff. In the AP and Rome parts, there are horizontal lines above the notes for 'ti-' and 'bi' indicating phrasing.

transmitted uniquely in the manuscript Leipzig 1494. Both works set an identical version of the antiphon melody to that seen in Isaac's works.

In the two-part motet transmitted in the Berlin manuscript, the chant cantus firmus is repeated four times, appearing twice in the tenor voice in each section.⁹² The cantus firmus is set in extended note values and rests separate the chant's phrases. Melodic and rhythmic embellishment of the chant is seen only occasionally and normally towards the end of each chant statement (see, for example: "habeo" b56-59; "tibi do" b142-148). Cantus firmus material is also seen in the accompanying voices. At the opening of the motet, the cantus firmus entry in the tenor voice is anticipated by a complete statement of the antiphon melody, loosely paraphrased in the superius voice. In his discussion of the work, Just concludes that the work may have been composed by a Netherlandish master.⁹³

The cantus firmus statement in the three-voice work transmitted without text in Leipzig 1494 is rather unusual.⁹⁴ The piece opens with the final two phrases of the antiphon melody appearing in breves in the highest voice (b1-12 "quod autem habeo / hoc tibi do"). A complete statement of the chant is then presented in semibreves in the lowest voice (beginning b14,2). Each phrase of the chant is repeated immediately in this voice and on different pitch levels thus:

⁹² EDM 78:128-38; see also Just, *Der Mensuralkodex*, I:230, I:236-7.

⁹³ Just, *Der Mensuralkodex*, I 237

⁹⁴ An edition of the work is published in EDM 32.78-9

Leipzig 1494 (fol 65')

Bar	Phrase	Starting pitch
b14-18	Argentum	c
b18-21	Argentum	f
b22-23	et aurum	g
b25-26	et aurum	c
b28-29	et aurum	c'
b31-34	non est mihi	g
b35-38	non est mihi	c
b39-42	non est mihi	g
b44-46	quod autem habeo	c'
b48-50	quod autem habeo	g
b51-52	hoc tibi do	d
b53-55	hoc tibi do	f
b55-57	hoc tibi do	a

To conclude: three works by Isaac set the antiphon melody “Argentum et aurum” as cantus firmus. Two works, the chant setting and also perhaps the mass, may have been composed in central Europe while the two-part motet Quid retribuam tibi, Leo was almost certainly composed in Florence. All three works set the same version of the antiphon melody. It seems unlikely that the liturgy of both the unidentified central European location and also of Florence would transmit identical versions of this chant. Isaac’s apparent disregard for local chant traditions is therefore implied. It would appear that in these works, Isaac sets a version of the antiphon melody with which he is familiar or prefers. Indeed, his preference for this version of the chant is corroborated by its re-appearance as cantus firmus in compositions which span his career. We can speculate that he learnt this version of the chant relatively early in his career (c.1476) and

subsequently preferred this version over other local versions. That this version is not peculiar to Isaac is indicated by its appearance in contemporary polyphonic settings.

Virgo prudentissima

The Marian antiphon "Virgo prudentissima" serves as cantus firmus in three of Isaac's compositions: a four-voice chant setting; a six-voice tenor motet; and a six-voice mass setting.

The chant setting Virgo prudentissima is transmitted in two, early sixteenth century Italian manuscripts: the Padua Cathedral choirbook Padua A.17 (dtd. 1522) and the manuscript Bologna Q20 (ca. 1530). This is a relatively short work in one section.⁹⁵ The antiphon melody appears in imitative counterpoint in all four voices.⁹⁶

The six-voice tenor motet Virgo prudentissima was probably composed c.1507 as Maximilian I laid plans for his coronation as Holy Roman Emperor.⁹⁷ The work may have been performed at the Constance Reichstag held April-July 1507. Reference is made in the second section of the main text to both "Caesaro Maximiliano" and to "Georgius", the latter being identified as Georg Slatkonja (1456-1522), Maximilian's Kapellmeister. The main text of the work, composed

⁹⁵ An edition of the motet is published by SCM 8 11-16

⁹⁶ For full discussion of cantus firmus treatment in this work see this study, chapter two.

⁹⁷ Editions of the work are published in DavisonVP, Cuyler, *The Emperor*, 194-224; see also Just, 'Studien', I:88-95; Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette*, 39-45, Cuyler, 'The Imperial Motet', 490-4.

perhaps by Slatkonja himself, paraphrases in the form of a large trope, the antiphon text. The work is widely transmitted in manuscript and printed sources including the printed collection of motets, the Liber selectarum cantionum of 1520 (RISM 1520⁴).

The Marian antiphon "Virgo prudentissima" appears in the tenor voice in extended note values and with little melodic embellishment. The first half of the chant is presented in the first section of the motet (up to "filia Syon"), and the remainder of the chant is set in the second (from "tota formosa"). The tenor voice entry is delayed at the opening of both sections as pairs of voices anticipate the chant cantus firmus.

It is likely that Isaac's six-voice Missa Virgo prudentissima was also composed for the Imperial court chapel.⁹⁸ The work is transmitted in the manuscript Munich 31, a choirbook copied, probably by Ludwig Senfl, ca. 1510 for the Habsburg court chapel.⁹⁹ The mass also appears in two other early 16th-century manuscripts, the Burgundian chapel choirbook, Brussels 6428 and the manuscript Jena 36,¹⁰⁰ as well as in the slightly later source, Munich C which was copied ca 1538-44 for Count Ottheinrich of the Palatinate.¹⁰¹ The Credo section only is transmitted in Florence 232 (ca. 1516-21)¹⁰² and the Vatican manuscript Rome VatCS 45 (ca. 1511-14).

⁹⁸ An edition of the mass is published in MD 8:75-115; see also Staehelin, Die Messen III.33-7.

⁹⁹ Bente, Neue Wege, 50-55; Census-Catalogue; Bente et al. Katalog der Musikhandschriften, 133-5.

¹⁰⁰ The Jena choirbook is omitted from Picker's list of sources, see A Guide, 30.

¹⁰¹ Bente, Neue Wege, 198-206; see also Bente et al. Katalog der Musikhandschriften, 58-9.

¹⁰² Cummings, 'A Florentine Sacred Repertory'.

A performance of Isaac's Missa Virgo prudentissima has been linked with the visit of Philip the Fair - Maximilian I's son - to Innsbruck in September 1503. On 26th September 1503, the chapels of the Archduke - including Pierre de la Rue and Alexander Agricola - and the Emperor celebrated Mass.

... la mardi se trouvèrent tous à l'église come devant ... et là furent chantées solennèlement deux messes. La première, de Requiem, chantèrent ledict éveque et les chantres de Monsigneur ... la seconde messe fu de l'Assumption Nostre-Dame, chantée par les chantres du roy, et offrirent le roy et la royne et Monsigneur come devant. Et comenchèrent le Grade les sacqueboutes du roy, et jouèrent le Deo gratias et Ite missa est et les chantres de Monsigneur chantèrent l'Offertoire.¹⁰³

Walter Rubsamen suggests that the Requiem mass referred to here may have been by Pierre la Rue and that the second mass may have been either Isaac's Missa Virgo prudentissima or la Rue's Missa Assumpta est Maria.¹⁰⁴ In support of Isaac's mass, Staehelin points to its transmission in the burgundian choirbook Brussels 6428.¹⁰⁵ In addition to seven masses by la Rue this source transmits just one other work - Isaac's Missa Virgo prudentissima, entitled "de assumptione beate maria virginis". Staehelin believes that Philip's chapel were introduced to Isaac's mass during their visit to Innsbruck

die burgundischen Hofsänger 1503 in Innsbruck das repräsentative Werk Isaacs kennenlernten, von da eine Abschrift nach Hause mitbrachten und die Komposition in ihr eigenes Repertoire aufnahmen.¹⁰⁶

It may be significant that the Brussels source transmits a different Agnus setting to that found in the Habsburg sources Munich 31 and Munich C (there is no

¹⁰³ Lalaing, 'Voyage de Philippe le Beau', 316-17; see also Staehelin, Die Messen, II:59 and Doorslaer, 'La chapelle musicale de Philippe le Beau', 52.

¹⁰⁴ Rubsamen, 'la Rue', MGG1.

¹⁰⁵ MD 8:160-62.

¹⁰⁶ ibid, 162.

Agnus section in Jena 34). Staehelin believes that the Brussels Agnus is not, in fact, part of the original mass composition but comprises rather the first section of a two-part motet based on the antiphon "Virgo prudentissima".¹⁰⁷ Certainly the version transmitted in the Habsburg choirbook, Munich 31, would appear to have priority over the Brussels source.

Figure 3.5 compares the versions of chant set in each of the three works. It can be seen that while the tenor motet and mass set almost identical versions of the chant, a different version is set in the four-voice chant setting. Significant melodic variants between the two versions - tenor motet/mass and chant setting - include:

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| "valde rutilans": | this phrase ends on f in the tenor motet/mass and on g in the chant setting |
| "filia syon": | the version in the chant setting is significantly different to the tenor motet/mass. A stepwise phrase is seen in the chant setting while the tenor motet/mass have a rise and fall of a third (a-c-a); |
| "tota formosa": | the phrase ascends by a leap of a third to f' in the tenor motet/mass and ascends by step to eb in the chant setting; |

¹⁰⁷

ibid, 161

Chant sources

Figure 3.5 also compares the versions of the chant Isaac sets with three contemporary chant sources (AP, Rome and Augsburg). (For ease of reference Isaac is referred to here as though untransposed.) The chant sources AP and Augs preserve similar but not identical versions of the chant. Melodic variants between these two sources include:

- "prudentissima": Augs does not have the falling tone d-c in this phrase;
- "aurora": the melisma in AP has a descending fourth interval c-g. In Augs this interval is a third c-a;
- "electa": This phrase begins on e in AP and on f in Augs.

Rome sets a significantly different version to both AP and Augs. Compare for example the following phrases: "quasi"; "aurora"; "valde rutilans"; "formosa"; "et suavis"; "ut luna".

While different versions of the chant are seen in Isaac's chant setting and tenor motet/mass, there is one melodic variant shared by all three compositions which is seen in none of the chant sources. The phrase "pulchra ut luna" ascends by step in all three of Isaac's composition from f-g-a on "pulchra" to bflat on "ut". In both AP and Augs the phrase ascends from f-g-a on "pulchra" but repeats the a on "ut" rather than ascending to bflat. In Rome the phrase returns to g on "ut".

The version of chant Isaac sets in the tenor motet/mass agrees most closely with AP. Significant variants between the tenor motet/mass/AP and Augs and Rome include:

- "aurora": the melisma has a descending fourth interval c-g in tenor motet/mass and AP. Augs has a descending third interval and the version in Rome is completely different;
- "valde": The tenor motet/mass and AP have a descending third a-f. In Augs this interval is filled in by step (a-g-f) and Rome has a descending second (f-e).
- "electa": This phrase begins on e in tenor motet/mass and AP and on f in both Rome and Augs.

The version of chant set in the tenor motet/mass is not, however, identical to AP, see especially:

- "filia Sion": the phrase has the characteristic rise and fall of a third (d-f-d) in the tenor motet/mass which is not seen in AP;
- "pulchra ut": the phrase ascends by step up a fourth to bflat in the tenor motet/mass (and chant setting) and up only a third to a in AP.

The version of the chant Isaac sets in the chant setting is distinct from all three chant sources. See especially:

"filia Sion":	the version in the chant setting agrees neither with the chant sources nor with the tenor motet/mass;
"tota formosa":	the phrase ascends by step to bflat in the chant setting. In the tenor motet/mass, <u>AP</u> and <u>Augs</u> the phrase ascends by a leap of a third to c. <u>Rome</u> differs significantly from all other versions.
"pulchra ut"	the phrase ascends by step from f to bflat in the chant setting, as well as in the tenor motet/mass, and only to a in the chant sources.

The version of chant set in the tenor motet/mass agrees most closely with, but is not identical to, AP. The version of the chant set in the chant setting is distinct from all chant sources.

Contemporary polyphonic settings

Roughly contemporary polyphonic settings of the both the text and melody of the Marian antiphon "Virgo prudentissima" include:

1.	Anon	a3	Glogauer Liederbuch
2	Josquin	a4	Dresden 1/D/6 (Isaac), Hradec II.A.7 (anon), MunichU 322-35 (Josquinus), St Gall 463 (Josquinus Pratensis), St Gall 530 (Josquin) RISM 1502 ¹ (Josquin), 1537 ¹ (Isaac), 1559 ² (H. Isaac).
3	Senfl	a4	Munich 10
4	Penet	a5	Bologna Q27 1 ⁰ , RISM 1534 ⁵ , 1543 ³

1. An anonymous, three-voice setting of the antiphon "Virgo prudentissima" is preserved uniquely in the Glogauer Liederbuch.¹⁰⁸ The antiphon melody is presented in the highest voice. The melodic version of the chant agrees entirely with neither the Isaac compositions nor the chant sources. See for example:

"filia Syon":	Glog shares the melodic variant seen in tenor
motet/mass "tota formosa":	Glog shares the melodic variant seen in Isaac's chant setting
"suavis es":	Glog has melodic variant seen in no other version. The melisma on " <u>suavis</u> " includes an ascending fourth interval (g-c')
"pulchra ut"	Glog shares the melodic variant on "ut" seen in <u>Rome</u>
"electa"	Glog fills in the descending fifth interval (g-c), not seen in any other source

2. Josquin's four-voice antiphon setting Virgo prudentissima is attributed to Isaac in three of its eight sources.¹⁰⁹ Wilhelm Elders shows that the Isaac attributions stem from Formschneider's edition of 1537 (RISM 1537¹) and that the attribution to Josquin by Petrucci in the work's earliest source is correct.¹¹⁰ Josquin sets the chant in imitative counterpoint. The antiphon melody is at times, only loosely

¹⁰⁸ An edition of this work is published in EDM 85:186-7

¹⁰⁹ For full list of sources see Charles, Josquin des Prez, 65; an edition of this work is published in JosquinMo i Bd v 133-5.

¹¹⁰ Elders, 'Le problème de l'authenticité'; see also this study chapter one.

paraphrased. The version of chant set by Josquin appears to agree most closely with Rome.

"quo progredieris"	Josquin has a stepwise descent of a fourth interval (a-e) as seen in <u>Rome</u> . All other sources descend only a third (a-f)
"aurora"	Josquin ascends by step to bflat as in <u>Rome</u> . The ascending intervals characteristic of German tradition (d-a-c) are not seen.
"valde rutilans"	Josquin has descending second on "valde" as seen in <u>Rome</u> .
"filia Syon"	Josquin agrees most closely with <u>Rome</u> .

Towards the end of the piece, the melodic substance of the chant is less easy to identify, see especially phrases "pulchra ut luna" and "electa ut sol".

3. Senfl's four-voice setting of the antiphon is preserved uniquely in the manuscript Munich 10.¹¹¹ This manuscript is the second of two books of motets (the first is Munich 12) copied for the Munich Hofkapelle. Dedications to Duke Wilhelm IV of Bavaria, whose chapel Senfl joined in early 1523, are found in both manuscripts. Martin Bente dates the copying of Munich 10 to between 1525-30 and suggests that the compositions it transmits date from around 1520.¹¹² Senfl's motet Virgo prudentissima is copied on f. 177'-186 in the manuscript Munich 10.

¹¹¹ RMF 14 An edition of the motet is published in SenflW xi:109-10
¹¹² Bente, Neue Wege, 66-70.

It appears between motets by Josquin and the title of the work is missing from the manuscript's original index. Bente concludes that the motet was probably a late addition to the manuscript.

Senfl's four-voice antiphon setting Virgo prudentissima is a short work in one section. The antiphon melody is carried by the highest voice mainly in semibreve values. Rests separate the chant phrases. Some imitation of the cantus firmus is seen in the lower voices. The version of the antiphon melody set in Senfl's work is identical to that set by Isaac in the tenor motet/mass. Senfl's version shares the variant with Isaac's compositions at "pulchra ut" which is not seen in any of the chant sources.¹¹³

4. Hilaire Penet (b. ?1501) was one of three French boys sent to Rome by Louis XII of France as a musical gift to the new Pope Leo X in 1513.¹¹⁴ Penet's name appears in papal records from May 1514 and he entered Leo X's private chapel in 1519. His five-voice antiphon setting Virgo prudentissima is transmitted in two printed and one manuscript source (see above).¹¹⁵ The version of chant set by Penet agrees most closely with Rome. See for example the following phrases: "quo pregrederis"; "aurora"; "filia Syon"; "et suavis es"; "pulchra ut". The version set by Penet is not, however, identical to Rome. Melodic variants between Penet's version and Rome include:

¹¹³ The text has been incorrectly underlaid in the edition of Senfl's work.

¹¹⁴ J. Rifkin, 'Penet, Hilaire', Grove6; see also C. Reynolds, 'Rome: A City of Rich Contrast', 7; Pirro, 'Leo X and Music', 8.

¹¹⁵ Attaignant 3:92-7.

"quasi"	Penet sets repeated g pitches, not seen in any other source
"electa"	ascending fifth interval g-d not seen in any other source

The polyphonic settings of the antiphon can therefore be seen to reflect different chant traditions. Penet, a composer known to have worked in Rome, sets a version of the chant which agrees most closely with Rome (as does to a lesser extent Josquin's) while both Senfl and Isaac (tenor motet/mass) set versions most similar to AP.

The similarities between the versions of the chant in Isaac's tenor motet/mass and Senfl's four-voice chant setting suggests that both composers were setting a specific version of the chant. As we have seen, this version is similar but not identical to that in AP, a chant source which may reflect the usage of the Habsburg court. Given that both composers are known to have worked for the Habsburg court chapel, it seems reasonable to assume that the chant version they set was one used by the Imperial chapel. Isaac's tenor motet lends weight to this assumption. This work is intimately associated with Maximilian I and the Habsburg court. It seem reasonable to suppose that a work composed in honour of, and in all likelihood commissioned by, Maximilian I should set a chant version used by and familiar to his court. Indeed, it may have been an implicit requirement of such a commission.¹¹⁶ That Isaac's mass was composed for the Habsburg court has already been suggested by Staehelin.¹¹⁷ It is also well-known that Senfl took to his new position in the Bavarian court chapel, compositions,

¹¹⁶ See further on this in this study chapter six.

¹¹⁷ Staehelin, Die Messen, III 33.

manuscripts - even singers - from the former Imperial chapel. His antiphon setting Virgo prudentissima may have been among them. The transmission of the work as a late insertion in its unique source appears to support this theory.¹¹⁸

Isaac's chant setting Virgo prudentissima sets a version of the antiphon melody which differs from both consulted chant sources and other contemporary polyphonic settings. What are the status of the melodic variants in this version of the chant? It may be argued that this version reflects a liturgical usage not yet identified - from Florence perhaps. However, I suggest that in this work, Isaac sets no particular, specific version of the chant. He uses, rather, a version he is familiar with or one he simply prefers.

In his discussion of Isaac's Missa Virgo prudentissima, Staehelin points out certain melodic variants of the antiphon melody which are characteristic of, on the one hand, German and, on the other, Latin, chant dialects.¹¹⁹ In particular, he notes that the highest pitches in the phrases "quasi aurora" and "tota formosa et suavis" are indicative of their respective traditions: in German traditions both phrases ascend to f through an ascending third interval (d-f) while in Latin traditions both phrases ascend by step to eflat. In Isaac's tenor motet and mass both phrases ascend to f with the characteristic third interval. In Isaac's chant setting, however, while the phrases "quasi aurora" and "et suavis es" ascend to f the phrase "tota formosa" ascends only to eflat. The version Isaac sets in this work, therefore, appears to comprise a conflation of chant traditions.

¹¹⁸ I have not, however, been able to consult chant sources from Munich to compare versions of the antiphon.

¹¹⁹ Staehelin, Die Messen, III 37

The analysis of chant versions demonstrates that while a composer may follow a particular usage when setting chant (Isaac tenor motet/mass and Senfl) he is not necessarily obliged to do so (Isaac's Virgo prudentissima a4). I suggest that the diversity between the versions of chant in Isaac's chant setting and the version I have associated with the Habsburg court (tenor motet/mass/Senfl) does not necessarily preclude Isaac's chant setting from having been composed there also.

Virgo prudentissima

The image displays a musical score for the piece "Virgo prudentissima". It consists of ten staves, each representing a different voice or instrument. The lyrics are written in Latin and are aligned with the notes on each staff. The staves are labeled on the left as follows: Rome, AP, Augs, motet a4, motet a6, mass, Glog, Senfl, Penet, and Josquin. The music is written in a simple, handwritten style with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are: "Vir-go pru-den-tis-si-ma".

Rome
Vir-go pru-den-tis-si-ma

AP
Vir-go pru-den-tis-si-ma

Augs
Vir-go pru-den-tis-si-ma

motet a4
Vir-go pru-den-tis-si-ma

motet a6
Vir-go pru-den-tis-si-ma

mass
Vir-go pru-den-tis-si-ma

Glog
Vir-go pru-den-tis-si-ma

Senfl
Vir-go pru-den-tis-si-ma

Penet
Vir-go pru-den-tis-si-ma

Josquin
Vir-go pru-den-tis-si-ma

Figure 3.5 (contd)

Rome
quo pro- gre- de- ris

AP
quo pro- gre- de- ris

Augs
quo pro- gre- de- ris

motet a4
quo pro- gre- de- ris

motet a6
quo pro- gre- de- ris

mass
quo pro- gre- de- ris

Glog
quo pro- gre- de- ris

Senfl
quo pro- gre- de- ris

Penet
quo pro- gre- de- ris

Josquin
quo pro- gre- de- ris

Figure 3.5 (contd)

Handwritten musical score for Figure 3.5 (contd), showing ten staves of music. The staves are labeled on the left: Rome, AP, Augs, motet a4, motet a6, mass, Glog, Senfl, Penet, and Josquin. Each staff contains a melody line with lyrics written below it. The lyrics are "qua- si au- ro- ra". The notation is handwritten, featuring treble clefs, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and various note values including minims, crotchets, and quavers. Brackets are used to group notes across staves, indicating phrasing or melodic lines. The score is arranged in a single system, with the staves stacked vertically.

Rome
qua- si au- ro- ra

AP
qua- si au- ro- ra

Augs
qua- si au- ro- ra

motet a4
qua- si au- ro- ra

motet a6
qua- si au- ro- ra

mass
qua- si au- ro- ra

Glog
qua- si au- ro- ra

Senfl
qua- si au- ro- ra

Penet
qua- si au- ro- ra

Josquin
qua- si

Figure 3.5 (contd)

Handwritten musical score for Figure 3.5 (contd), showing ten staves of music with lyrics. The staves are labeled on the left: Rome, AP, Augs, motet a4, motet a6, mass, Glog, Senfl, Penet, and Josquin. Each staff contains a melody line with lyrics written below it. The lyrics are: val- de ru- ti- lans. The notation includes various musical symbols such as treble clefs, time signatures (e.g., 8/8, 6/8), and note values (e.g., minims, crotchets, quavers). Brackets are used to group notes across staves, indicating phrasing or alignment. The score is written in a clear, legible hand.

Rome
val- de ru- ti- lans

AP
val- de ru- ti- lans

Augs
val- de ru- ti- lans

motet a4
val- de ru- ti- lans

motet a6
val- de ru- ti- lans

mass
val- de ru- ti- lans

Glog
val- de ru- ti- lans

Senfl
val- de ru- ti- lans

Penet
val- de ru- ti- lans

Josquin
val- de ru- ti- lans

Figure 3.5 (contd)

Rome
fi- li- a Sy- on

AP
fi- li- a Sy- on

Augs
fi- li- a Sy- on

motet a4
fi- li- a Si- on

motet a6
fi- li- a

mass
fi- li- a Si- on

Glog
fi- li- a Si- on

Senfl
fi- li- a Si- on

Penet
fi- li- a Si- on

Josquin
fi- li- a Si- on

Figure 3.5 (contd)

Rome
to- ta for- mo- sa

AP
to- ta for- mo- sa

Augs
to- ta for- mo- sa

motet a4
to- ta for- mo- sa

motet a6
to- ta for- mo- sa

mass
to- ta for- mo- sa

Glog
to- ta for- mo- sa

Senfl
to- ta for- mo- sa

Penet
to- ta for- mo- sa

Josquin
to- ta for- mo- sa

Figure 3.5 (contd)

The image displays a musical score for ten different settings of a Latin text, arranged vertically. Each setting is represented by a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are written below the notes. Brackets above the staves indicate phrasing or melodic groupings.

The settings and their lyrics are:

- Rome**: et su- a- vis
- AP**: su- a- vis es
- Augs**: et su- a- vis es
- motet a4**: et su- a- vis es
- motet a6**: et su- a- vis es
- mass**: et su- a- vis es
- Glog**: et su- a- vis es
- Senfl**: et su- a- vis es
- Penet**: et su- a- vis es
- Josquin**: et su- a- vis es

Figure 3.5 (contd)

Rome
pul- chra ut lu- na

AP
pul- chra ut lu- na

Augs
pul- chra ut lu- na

motet a4
pul- chra ut lu- na

motet a6
pul- chra ut lu- na

mass
pul- chra ut lu- na

Glog
pul- chra ut lu- na

Senfl
pul- chra ut lu- na

Penet
pul- chra ut lu- na

Josquin
pul- chra ut lu- na

Figure 3.5 (contd)

The image displays a musical score for ten different vocal parts, each on a five-line staff. The parts are labeled on the left: Rome, AP, Augs, motet a4, motet a6, mass, Glog, Senfl, Penet, and Josquin. Each staff contains a series of notes (half notes and quarter notes) and rests. Below the notes, the lyrics are written in a stylized, handwritten font. The lyrics for most parts are "e- lec- ta", with some variations in phrasing and punctuation. The staff for "Penet" includes the additional lyrics "ut sol".

Rome
e- lec- ta

AP
e- lec- ta

Augs
e- lec- ta

motet a4
e- lec- ta

motet a6
e- lec- ta

mass
e- lec- ta

Glog
e- lec- ta

Senfl
e- lec- ta

Penet
e- lec- ta ut sol

Josquin
e- lec- ta

Figure 3.5 (contd)

Handwritten musical notation for various composers, showing pitch contours for 'ut' and 'sol'. The notation is written on ten staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The composers listed are Rome, AP, Augs, motet a4, motet a6, mass, Glog, Senfl, Penet, and Josquin. The notation uses circles to represent notes, with 'ut' and 'sol' written below them. Brackets indicate intervals or groupings of notes. The notation is handwritten and appears to be a sketch or a study.

Rome

AP

Augs

motet a4

motet a6

mass

Glog

Senfl

Penet

Josquin

Chapter 4

The tempo relationship between perfect and imperfect time in Isaac's motets

Introduction

In music of the Middle Ages and Renaissance changes in tempo within a composition were indicated by mensuration signs. In her recent study of mensuration and proportion signs, Anna Maria Busse Berger writes

The signs made it possible for the first time to rationalize all temporal relationships in music.¹

For today's musicologists, however, the interpretation of these signs is

.. one of the least understood and most controversial topics in music history.²

In particular, "one of the most perplexing problems" is establishing tempo relationships between different mensurations.³ When different mensurations are used simultaneously, the tempo relationship between them may be firmly established. Ambiguities arise in successive instances of different mensurations, when all voices move together from, for example, tempus perfectum (O) to tempus imperfectum diminutum (c). It may not be assumed that simultaneous, vertical tempo relationships held good for successive, horizontal ones.

¹ Busse Berger, Mensuration and Proportion Signs, I.

² ibid

³ ibid, 3.

Recent studies of the mensural organisation of 15th century music have taken various forms. Busse Berger's study focuses primarily on theoretical sources from the 14th to 16th centuries.⁴ Analyses of specific repertories have been undertaken by Charles Hamm, Alejandro Planchart, Philip Gossett and Rob Wegman, to name but a few.⁵ In his study of the music of Dufay, Hamm counted numbers and types of note-values in different mensurations. Hamm observed that significant changes in the types of note values used often occur as a new mensuration sign is introduced. In particular, he notes noticeable shifts to larger note values when a move from tempus perfectum (O) to tempus imperfectum diminutum (♢) takes place.⁶

Rob Wegman describes the years 1430-1500 as "a distinct mensural period".⁷ Significant changes in mensural practice occurred within this "O-♢ period",⁸ most notably the gradual disappearance of tempus perfectum and the increased predominance of tempus imperfectum diminutum.

The shift to ♢ as the predominant or unique mensuration in masses and motets from the 1490s seems to have been widespread in continental Europe.⁹

Wegman studies the correlation between tempo and rhythmic movement by comparing average note values in different mensurations.¹⁰ This method involves adding up all note-values in each mensuration in a given piece and

⁴ See also Schroeder, 'The Stroke Comes Full Circle'.

⁵ Hamm, A Chronology; Planchart, 'The Relative Speed of Tempora'; Gossett, 'The Mensural System'; Wegman, 'Concerning Tempo in the English Polyphonic Mass'; see also Wegman, Born for the Muses.

⁶ Hamm, A Chronology, see esp. chapters 8 and 9, p.123-150.

⁷ Wegman, Born for the Muses, 378.

⁸ ibid.

⁹ ibid., 375.

¹⁰ Wegman, 'Concerning Tempo'.

dividing the total by the number of notes, thus arriving at the average value. In this way, a very precise comparison of the types of note values used in different mensurations may be achieved. Changes in the types of note values used in each mensuration may reflect changes in tempo, a trend observed by Arthur Mendel.

If the average note value in ϕ turns out to be twice that in C there will be support for the idea that a breve in ϕ is intended to have about the same duration as a semibreve in C.¹¹

This type of analysis not only highlights tempo relationships within works but, within specific repertories, may also reflect changes in tempo between works. That tempi gradually became slower during the period 1200-1600 as note values became smaller and smaller is a generally accepted historical tendency. Wegman observes that

... in clearly defined repertories later works usually employ smaller note values.¹²

a feature which may be reflected in decreasing average note values. A comparison of average note values in different pieces in defined repertories may therefore highlight chronological order.

This chapter explores the tempo relationship between perfect and imperfect time in the motets of Isaac. The mensural complexities of Isaac's music were recognised as early as the 16th-century. Notational problems in the Choralis constantinus are discussed by both Sebald Heyden (1540) and Heinrich Glarean

¹¹ Mendel, 'Towards Objective Criteria', 299.

¹² Wegman, Born, 376.

(1547)¹³. In a more recent study of the work, Philip Gossett remarks on the consistency of Isaac's mensural usage.¹⁴ While the type of rhythmic complexities seen in the Choralis constantinus are not evident in Isaac's motets, a study of tempo relationships in the work of a composer known to have been particularly concise with regard to rhythmic procedure would appear to be a promising field for investigation. Furthermore, as Wegman points out, a study of tempo relationships in a specific genre by a single composer will be potentially more revealing if at least some works can be dated with a certain degree of confidence.¹⁵ While Isaac's motets cannot, on the whole, be securely dated, criteria such as source structure and textual references give indications to approximate dates of composition of some works, details of which are included in the following discussion.

Perfect and imperfect time in Isaac's motets

Tempus perfectum is seen in only a handful of Isaac's motets.¹⁶ A change in tempo, normally a move from O- ϕ , was an established feature of the tenor motet. A change in tempo from perfect to imperfect time is seen between the first and second sections in all four of Isaac's tenor motets (see table 4.1). A similar change in mensuration is seen in the three-voice motet Quid retribuam tibi, Leo.

¹³ Heyden, De arte canendi (Nurnberg, 1540) Glarean, Dodecachordon (Basel: 1547)

¹⁴ Gossett, 'The Mensural System'

¹⁵ Wegman, 'Concerning Tempo', 56-8.

¹⁶ Motets in tempus perfectum not considered here include the three-voice instrumental-type motet Gentile spiritus as well as the five-voice motet Hodie scietis quia veniet which sets an unidentified cantus firmus.

The absence of a structural cantus firmus in this work precludes its consideration as a tenor motet. The second section only is based on a cantus firmus.

Among Isaac's chant settings, tempus perfectum is seen in the two "Salve regina" settings. Both settings of the Marian antiphon open with sections in tempus perfectum with, in each case, a move to imperfect time in the following section. Most other of Isaac's chant settings are composed in ϕ , either exclusively as in Argentum et aurum, Gaude, Dei genitrix, Tota pulchra es, Verbum caro factum est and many others, or with short, contrasting passages in $\phi 3$ which usually occur towards the end of the sections or works and last for only a few bars as, for example, in Ecce sacerdos magnus, Alma redemptoris mater or Anima mea liquefacta est. The move to $\phi 3$, however, involves no change in tempo.

The occurrence of tempus perfectum in the two "Salve regina" settings underlines the elevated standing of this antiphon in the 15th century. The "Salve regina" was the most popular and widely set of the Marian antiphons. The use of the rhythmically intricate perfect mensuration, associated, as we have seen, with the higher artistic form of the tenor motet, lends musical splendour to the settings of this antiphon.

Table 4.1 shows the mensural organisation of the seven motets considered here.

Table 4.1:

	O	♩	C	O2
Angeli archangeli	prima	secunda		
O decus ecclesiae	prima T: secunda	DAVB: secunda		
Optime divino	b1-74	b83-207	b75-82	
Quid retribuam tibi, Leo	b1-19	b20-43		
Virgo prudentissima (a6)	prima			secunda
Salve regina I	SAB b1-45	T: b1-139	SAB b46-139	
Salve regina II	b1-21	b22-317		

As outlined above, when one mensuration is used simultaneously with another, the tempo relationship can be definitely established. If, however, all voices move simultaneously from one mensuration to another, the tempo relationship between the two mensurations is less easy to determine. Accordingly, Philip Gossett distinguishes between instances of simultaneous and successive signatures in Isaac's *Choralis constantinus*. In dealing with successive signatures, Gossett establishes the principle of single voice continuity.

If the mensural signature of a voice in a polyphonic complex remains unchanged, either within a section or between sections, the tempo and organisation of that voice should not be altered. A single singer, in short, will not shift his mensural gears unless explicitly directed.¹⁷

¹⁷ Gossett, 'The Mensural System', 83.

This principle proves to have particular relevance for two of Isaac's motets, O decus ecclesiae and Salve regina I. In both these works, perfect and imperfect mensurations occur simultaneously in different voices and so the tempo relationship between the different mensurations may be established. In both works, one voice, in each case the tenor, remains in one mensuration and thus at a constant tempo, throughout the entire motet.

O decus ecclesiae

This two-part tenor motet is for five voices.¹⁸ It is preserved in three sources, the manuscripts Berlin 40021 and Leipzig 1494 (four versions)¹⁹ as well as Petrucci's Motetti a cinque libro primo of 1508 (RISM 1508¹). The Berlin manuscript is the work's earliest source where it is copied without text. It is listed with the title "Vocum modulatio" in the manuscript's index. The work is copied in the sixteenth layer of this source which Just dates, on the basis of watermarks and papertype, c.1491-95.²⁰

The motet sets an unidentified Marian text which is described by Willem Elders as

... an ode to the Virgin, who is praised as an ornament by the Church and a pillar of God.²¹

¹⁸ EDM 33:155-62; the work is discussed in Just, 'Studien', I:87-88; Just, Der Mensuralkodex, I:224-9.

¹⁹ f. 118v-121r; f. 177v-178r; f. 213v-214r; f. 257v-258r; (see EDM 34:405).

²⁰ Just, Der Mensuralkodex, II:30.

²¹ Elders, Symbolic Scores, 87.

The cantus firmus, which comprises an ascending and descending hexachord scale (C-A) set entirely in breves, appears in the middle voice. The hexachord scale ascends and descends in the following manner (- = breve rest):

C - C D - - C D E - - - C D E F - - - - C D E F G - - - - - C D E F G A - - - - -
 A G F E D C - - - - - G F E D C - - - - F E D C - - - E D C - - D C - C

This pattern is then repeated in the second section. Sequential patterns are seen in the outer voices especially in the second section of the work. Elders points to the similarities between this work and Josquin's four-voice motet Ut Phoebe radiis which is also based on a hexachord cantus firmus.²² He writes

It is tempting to think of Isaac having written Ut decus ecclesie in emulation of Josquin's Ut Phoebe radiis.²³

I suggest, however, that the transmission of Isaac's work suggests that the five-voice motet may be the earlier of the two compositions. The earliest source for Josquin's work is Petrucci's Motetti libro quarto of 1505 (RISM 1505²).




The first section of the motet opens in tempus perfectum (O) in all voices. Contrasting mensurations are seen in the closing bars of this opening section (b73-78). A brief passage in tempus imperfectum diminutum (♢) with lively rhythms is seen in the superius and vagans voices (b73-75) against which the altus and bassus voices remain in O (tenor voice is silent at this point). Here the simultaneous tempo relationship between O and ♢ is defined by the altus and

²² JosquinMo i Bd iv:110-13.

²³ Elders, Symbolic Scores, 87.

bassus voice continuity and is 1:2. The superius and vagans voices return to O in b75 and the section closes with a move to O3 in all voices (except the silent tenor) (b77-78). This change in mensuration, however involves no change in tempo.

In the second section, the tenor voice remains in O, repeating the cantus firmus, while the outer voices move to ϕ . The simultaneous tempo relationship between the tenor and outer voices in the second section is: $O \diamond = \phi \diamond \diamond$. Between the first and second sections, the successive tempo relationship between O and ϕ in the outer voices is defined by the tenor voice continuity and is also $O \diamond = \phi \diamond \diamond$. The speed of the semibreve in the outer voices is therefore doubled in the second section. This increase in speed is accompanied by a noticeable shift to larger note values in the outer voices. In the first section, the most frequently used note value in the upper two voices is the semiminim, while in the second section, the most frequently used note value is the minim, as these figures show:²⁴

				
<u>O decus ecclesiae</u>	O	102	194	<u>223</u>
	ϕ	181	<u>285</u>	229

A shift to larger note values in the outer voices is therefore seen to accompany the move from O to ϕ in the second section of the motet.

²⁴ Upper two voices counted only

Salve regina I

The four-voice antiphon setting Salve regina I is transmitted in three central European manuscripts: Berlin 40021, probably the work's earliest source; Warsaw 2016 and Basel F.IX.55.²⁵ In the Berlin manuscript the work appears in layer XV dated by Just c.1491/92-94.²⁶ This work is in five sections. The antiphon melody appears in the tenor voice notated entirely in breves. The tenor is written in ϕ throughout the piece so that the written breves move in semibreve values.

The relationship of the outer voices to the tenor voice remains constant (except for a short triple section b41-45) despite changes in mensuration in the outer voices. In the first section of the motet, the outer voices are in tempus perfectum (O). The simultaneous tempo relationship between the tenor and outer voices is thus:

$$O \diamond = \phi \diamond \diamond .$$

At b46, the outer voices move into C and stay in this mensuration for the rest of the piece. The tenor remains in ϕ . Here a simultaneous tempo relationship of 1:2 is seen between C in the outer voices and ϕ in the tenor: $C \diamond = \phi \diamond \diamond$.

If

$$O \diamond = \phi \diamond \diamond \text{ and } C \diamond = \phi \diamond \diamond \text{ then } O \diamond = C \diamond$$

²⁵

An edition of the work is published in EDM 77:236-41; see also Just 'Studien', I:104

²⁶

Just, Der Mensuralkodex, II 29

Semibreve equivalence is therefore seen between O and C in the outer voices. In this work there is therefore no change in tempo in either the tenor voice, which remains in ϕ throughout the piece, or in the outer voices.

The fixed tempo relationships between perfect and imperfect time seen in O decus ecclesiae and Salve regina I may help to establish tempo relationships in other works.




Angeli archangeli / Comme femme desconfortée

The six-voice tenor motet Angeli archangeli / Comme femme desconfortée is transmitted in four manuscript sources: the Chigi codex, compiled ca. 1498-1503 and probably the work's earliest source; Leipzig 1494, where the motet appears with a contrafact text "O regina nobilissima"; Rome VatCS 46 (ca. 1508-27); and Florence 232 (c.1516-1521)²⁷. Both O decus ecclesiae and Angeli archangeli are transmitted in the manuscript Leipzig 1494 and the two works share stylistic similarities. Like O decus ecclesiae, Angeli archangeli is a tenor motet with a non-liturgical cantus firmus. Here the tenor of Binchois' chanson "Comme femme desconfortée" appears in extended note values in the tenor voice while the outer voices sing a compilation of antiphon texts.²⁸ Rests between the tenor cantus firmus phrases allow brief passages of imitative counterpoint between the outer voices to emerge, a feature also seen in O decus ecclesiae.




²⁷ An edition of the work is published in EDM 34.369-74, see also: Just, 'Studien', I:96-7; Kellman, 'The Origins of the Chigi Codex; Cummings, 'A Florentine Sacred Repertory'. A facsimile of the Chigi codex is published in RMF 22, a facsimile of Rome VatCS 46 is published in RMF 21.

²⁸ An edition of Binchois' chanson is published in MD 10 43-4

The first section of the motet is in tempus perfectum in all voices. In this section, the first half of the chanson tenor appears as cantus firmus in the tenor voice. A move to ϕ in all voices marks the opening of the second section where the remainder of the chanson tenor is set. The simultaneous move in all voices from one mensuration to the other means that no fixed tempo relationship between the first and second sections can be established. However, similarities in the manner in which Isaac moves from perfect to imperfect time may be noted in O decus ecclesiae and Angeli archangeli. As in O decus ecclesiae, a noticeable shift to larger note values accompanies the move to imperfect time in Angeli archangeli. In the first section of this motet, the most frequently used note value is the semiminim:

			
O	91	112	<u>175</u>

while in the second section the semibreve is the most frequently used value:

			
ϕ	<u>104</u>	92	45

Is it possible, however, to determine that the same tempo relationship between O and ϕ , seen in the outer voices in O decus ecclesiae, holds good for the move in all voices from O to ϕ in Angeli archangeli?

Calculating the average note values in both mensurations in each motet gives the following results:

Angeli archangeli	VO 0.718	V ϕ 1.033
O decus ecclesiae	VO 0.598	V ϕ 0.883

On the surface, these values seem quite distinct. However, the shift to larger note values in ϕ in each case is a relative shift and it is the tempo relationship between the two mensurations in each motet which needs to be studied. Rob Wegman writes:

... if we measure rhythmic movement by average note values and put the obtained results in equation (2) [$V\phi/VO$] we can expect the equation to give us very precise answers to the question of what tempo relationships possibly existed between the different mensurations in a single composition.²⁹

Comparing the types of note values used in each mensuration - represented by their average note values - gives the following results:

Angeli archangeli	V ϕ	1.033		
	--	----	=	1.437
	VO	0.719		
O decus ecclesiae	V ϕ	0.883		
	--	----	=	1.477
	VO	0.598		

The difference between these two values is negligible and the tempo relationship between perfect and imperfect time in each motet may therefore be considered

²⁹ Wegman, 'Concerning', 45 (my brackets)

equivalent. The mensural organisation of O decus ecclesiae makes the translation of this data into musical terms very straightforward. We know that there is a 1:2 successive tempo relationship between O and ϕ in this motet. There can be little doubt, therefore, given the similarity of data, together with the roughly contemporary origin of the two works, that this tempo relationship also holds good for Angeli archangeli.

The similarity of tempo relationships in O decus ecclesiae and Angeli archangeli is further underlined if comparison is made with the tempo relationship between O and ϕ in another, much later, motet by Isaac, Optime divino / Da pacem / Sacerdos et pontifex.

Optime divino / Da pacem / Sacerdos et pontifex

The composition and transmission of this six-voice tenor motet is closely associated with Cardinal Matthäus Lang, chancellor to Maximilian I and, from 1519, Archbishop of Salzburg.³⁰ The work was probably composed to celebrate the meeting in December 1513 of Cardinal Lang, Maximilian's emissary, with the newly elected Pope Leo X.³¹ In the main text of the work (poet unknown) the singers of the Imperial chapel pay homage to the Pope. The work's earliest source is the printed volume of motets, the Liber selectarum cantionum, published by Sigmund Grimm and Mark Wyrung in Augsburg in 1520 (RISM 1520⁴).³² This collection of motets was compiled and edited by Ludwig Senfl

³⁰ Details of Lang's career are outlined in Birkendorf, Der Codex Pernner, 166-70.

³¹ CW 120.1-22; see also Just, 'Studien', I 70-1, 95-6; Dunning, Die Staatsmotette, 45-53.

³² Birkendorf, Der Codex Pernner, I 114-7. An inventory of the print is published in *ibid.*, III 157-8. A complete edition of the print is included in Roberts 'The Music of Ludwig

and is dedicated, as the preface to the volume indicates, to Cardinal Lang. Optime divino is the opening piece of the collection, a position, as Albert Dunning points out, often reserved for dedicatory compositions.³³

In this work, Isaac sets not one but two plainchant cantus firmi, the only example in his oeuvre of a double cantus firmus motet. The chants are sung by the two tenor voices and their texts reflect the occasion: the introit for peace "Da pacem domine" and the antiphon "Sacerdos et pontifex".³⁴ They are presented twice, once in each section of the motet, in extended values in the tenor voices. The motet opens in tempus perfectum (O) in all voices with a move to tempus imperfectum diminutum (ϕ) in the second section. The setting also includes a brief passage in C (b75-82) which closes the first section. A mensuration sequence O - C - ϕ in all voices is therefore seen.

Research has shown that in both successive and simultaneous instances, C and ϕ always stand in a tempo relationship of 1:2. Alejandro Planchart writes,

there is no doubt that in all cases the note values in ϕ moved twice as fast as those in C when these two signs were used simultaneously or successively, creating a simple 1:2 proportion between C and ϕ.³⁵

Serfl'. The work is also transmitted in Secundus tomus novi operis musici, sex, quinque et quatuor vocum (Nuremberg: H Grapheus (Formschneider)) [RSIM 1538³]




³³ Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette*, 45-6

³⁴ "Da pacem Domine" LU 886; "Sacerdos et pontifex" LU 1549

³⁵ Planchart, 'Tempo and Proportions', 134-5.

Gossett reaches the same conclusion in his study of the Choralis constantinus and we have already seen this proportion in the vertical relationship between C and ϕ in Salve regina I.

In what relation does tempus perfectum stand with these two, imperfect mensurations? Bypassing momentarily the short C passage which ends the first section, an examination of the relationship between O and ϕ reveals different results from those seen previously. While in both O decus ecclesiae and Angeli archangeli the move from perfect to imperfect time was marked by a distinct shift to larger note values, here no such shift occurs. Note values in both O and ϕ in Optime divino are practically identical. In both mensurations, the minim is the most frequently used note value.

			
O	88	<u>228</u>	177
ϕ	143	<u>212</u>	112

In his article "The relative speed", Planchart argues that when such a move from O to ϕ is not accompanied by a corresponding shift to larger note values, then a relationship of 3:4 obtains.

... in Josquin's Missa pange lingua, where the Kyrie has the mensuration progression O - ϕ - \emptyset , without the change in note values that usually accompanies a 1:2 change in tempo, the 4:3 ratio becomes the only possible solution.³⁶

³⁶

Planchart, 'The Relative Speed of Tempora', 43

Busse Berger has convincingly demonstrated that this tempo relationship also had contemporary theoretical corroboration.³⁷

If we accept this, a tempo relationship of 3:2:4 therefore results between the three mensurations O - C - ϕ in Optime divino. This retains the 1:2 ratio between C and ϕ but produces a significant slowing down in tempo between O and C.

Gossett notes the rarity of uncut C in Isaac's Choralis constantinus. The signature occurs in only two of Isaac's motets, here and in the Salve regina I setting, as we have seen. Gossett writes

... signatures at the uncut ... levels are so rare that they emerge as rather special, reserved for particular contexts.³⁸

He argues that the C mensuration was often reserved for slow 'largo' type tempos frequently with the intention of bringing out the text. Does the short C passage at the end of the first section of Optime divino warrant a particular setting? The C passage is only a matter of eight bars and sets the following text:

Haec pia Caesarei cantores vota frequentant

These holy prayers the praise-singers of Caesar re-echo

This text is repeated, with similar music, at the end of the work. As a ceremonial work sung by the Imperial choir themselves this text is indeed of significance, speaking, as it were, directly from the choir themselves. A slow

³⁷ Busse Berger, Mensuration and Proportion Signs, see esp. chapter three.
³⁸ Gossett, 'The Mensural System', 92.

tempo at this point, therefore, seems particularly fitting, and effectively highlights the text.

Quid retribuam tibi, Leo

This slight three-voice motet is also a late work and may be considered roughly contemporary with the tenor motet Optime divino / Da pacem / Sacerdos et pontifex, discussed above. Isaac may have composed Quid retribuam tibi, Leo c.1515 as an offering of thanks to the Pope who had taken a personal interest in securing a pension for the composer's retirement in Florence.³⁹ Although the work divides musically into two parts which are marked with a change in mensuration from O-♢, there is no other formal division between the two sections. The text of the first section gives thanks to Pope Leo X while the second section is a setting of the antiphon "Argentum et aurum".⁴⁰ An additional text phrase "et si oportuerit me mori tecum non te negabo" is set at the end of the cantus firmus statement. Staehelin argues that Isaac himself may have been responsible for the compilation of the motet's text.⁴¹




The work opens in tempus perfectum (O) in all voices. A move to ♢ in all voices at b20 marks the start of the cantus firmus statement. In this work, as in Optime divino, there is no significant change in the type of note values used in the different mensurations. In Quid retribuam tibi, Leo the minim is the most frequently used note value in both O and ♢:⁴²

³⁹ Dunning, Die Staastmotette, 47 n 3 and Staehelin, Die Messen, II. 79-80.

⁴⁰ An edition of this work is published in Rhau 9:76-8

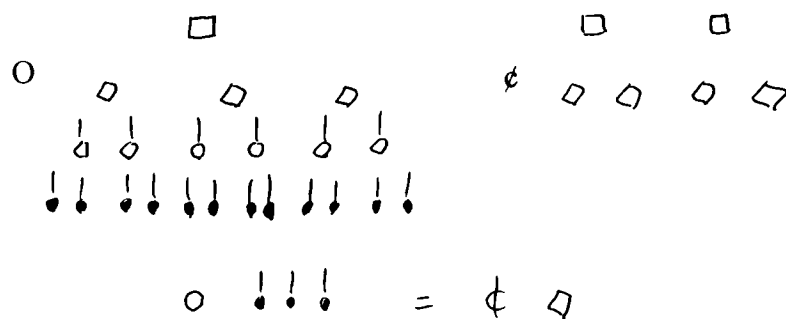
⁴¹ Staehelin, Die Messen, II. 79-80.

⁴² In this work, due to the appearance of the cantus firmus in the highest voice, I have counted note values in the lower two voices.

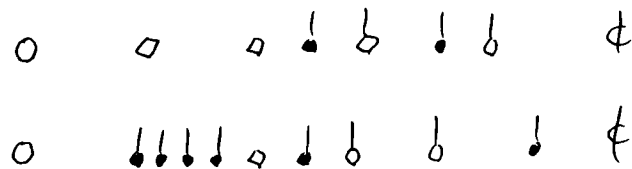
			
O	29	<u>96</u>	46
♢	30	<u>60</u>	11

While it is not possible to establish conclusively the tempo relationship between O and ♢ in this motet, I argue that, given the contemporary nature of this work with the tenor motet Optime divino where a 3:4 relationship between O and ♢ has been suggested and the similiarity with which the new tempo is introduced in both works, with no change in the types of note values used in each mensuration, a 3:4 tempo relationship between O and ♢ may also be appropriate for this work. It seems unlikely that two motets composed in close proximity to one another would have employed different mensural relationships.

Isaac appears to facilitate the change in speed between the two mensurations. The final bar in tempus perfectum contains semiminim and minim values in the two lower voices combined in rhythmic patterns that make the transition to the new tempo rather straightforward. Three semiminims in O will equal a semibreve in ♢ thus:



Isaac 'composes in' the speed of the new semibreve in ϕ in the minim-semiminim patterns in the two lower voices in the final breve unit of tempus perfectum, as seen here:



Virgo prudentissima (a6)

The six-voice tenor motet Virgo prudentissima is widely transmitted in manuscript and printed sources.⁴³ The work is preserved with several different text versions.⁴⁴ While the motet is transmitted in three sources with a Protestant version of its text addressed to Christ (see below), in the majority of sources the main text paraphrases, in the form of a large trope, the antiphon text "Virgo prudentissima". References are made to both Maximilian I - "pro Caesare Maximiliano" - and to his Kapellmeister, Georg Slatkonja - "Georgius arte Ordinatus Augusti Cantor Rectorque capellae".⁴⁵

The earliest version of the text is transmitted in the manuscript St Gall 464 (ca. 1510-20), as well as in the somewhat later, related source St Gall 463. In this version of the text, Slatkonja is described as "praesul petinensis sedulus omni", a reference to his position as Bishop of Pedena in Istrian, a post he held between 1506-13. In November 1513, Slatkonja was appointed Bishop of Vienna. His

⁴³ For full list of sources see Picker, A Guide, 94-5. An edition of this work is included in Cuyler, Emperor Maximilian I and Music, 194-224 and in DavisonVP.

⁴⁴ Just, 'Studien', II:76-8 Just was unaware of three of the motet's sources Buffalo A3; Copenhagen 1872; and RISM 1589¹⁷.

⁴⁵ Just, 'Studien', II 77

new status is reflected in the motet text transmitted in the slightly later printed source, the Liber selectarum cantionum of 1520. In this source, the now out-of-date reference "praesul petinensis" is replaced with the phrase "Austriacae praesul regionis omni".

The motet text transmitted in the manuscript St Gall 464 therefore provides a terminus inter quo of 1506-13 for the composition of Isaac's motet. This manuscript also provides one further indication as to the date and place of composition of the work. The remark "Isaac Constantie posuit" appears in this source. Accordingly, Just assumes that this large ceremonial work must have been composed for a specific, momentous occasion that took place in Constance between the years 1506-13 and concludes that Isaac's motet was probably composed for the Reichstag held in Constance in 1507.⁴⁶ The text of this work is similar in many respects to that of the two-part motet Sancti spiritus assit, a work almost certainly composed for that occasion. The plainchant cantus firmus of the tenor motet, the Marian antiphon "Virgo prudentissima", belongs to the feast of the Assumption (August 18) and it therefore seems possible that the motet may have been performed on this date.⁴⁷

The authorship of the newly-composed motet text is uncertain. Adolf Thürling suggested that it may have been written by the humanist poet Joachim von Watt (Vadian) (1484-1551),⁴⁸ a suggestion that has been taken up and repeated many

⁴⁶ Just, 'Studien', I.67-9.

⁴⁷ Suggested by Just, 'Studien', I.69

⁴⁸ Thürling, 'Heinrich Isaac in Augsburg (?) und Konstanz', p ci; noted by Just, 'Studien', I.65, 67

times.⁴⁹ Just argues, however, that Vadian's connections with composers such as Hofhaimer, Finck and Senfl date from a later period to that of the composition of the motet and that his relationship with Slatkonja, in particular, is known only from 1514.⁵⁰ Albert Dunning argues convincingly that Slatkonja himself may have composed the text, a view which is supported by Martin Staehelin.⁵¹

Georg Slatkonja, der *rector Capellae* am Hofe Maximilians und Freund zahlreicher Humanisten, seit 1498 als 'Obrister Capellmeister' in den Hofakten erwähnt und als solcher in Maximilians 'Triumphzug' abgebildet ... 1506-13 Verwalter des istrischen Bistums Pedena, ab 1513 Erzbischof von Wien, ist also der *Ordinator*, der 'Regler', der 'Zusammensteller' des Gedichtes.⁵²

There are yet further versions of the motet's text. In the Vatican manuscript Rome VatCS 24, the invocations to the Emperor Maximilian I - "pro sacro Imperio" and "pro Caesare Maximiliano" - seen in the original text, are replaced with the less Imperialistic prayers "pro fide catholica" and "pro coetu Christicolarum".⁵³ A Protestant version of the text "Christus Filius Dei" is also transmitted in several later sources, including Zwickau 31/32 and the two printed sources, Secundus tomus novi operis musici, sex, quinque et quatuor vocum (Nuremberg: H Grapheus (Formschneider) [RISM 1538³] and Novum et insigne opus musicum ... Cantionum sex vocum (Nuremberg: J Berg & U Neuber) [RISM 1558⁴].

⁴⁹ See Mantuani, 'Die Musik in Wien' 387; Moser, *Paul Hofhaimer*, 25 and 40, and most recently Picker, 'The Habsburg Courts in the Netherlands and Austria, 1477-1530', 235.

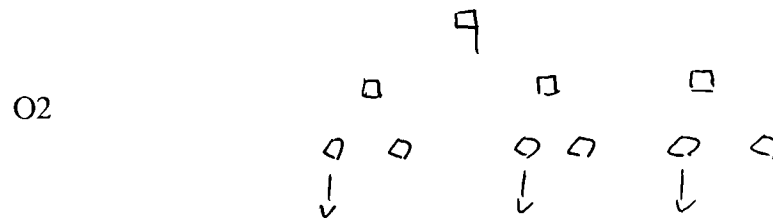
⁵⁰ Just, 'Studien', I 69-70

⁵¹ Staehelin, *Die Messen*, II 64

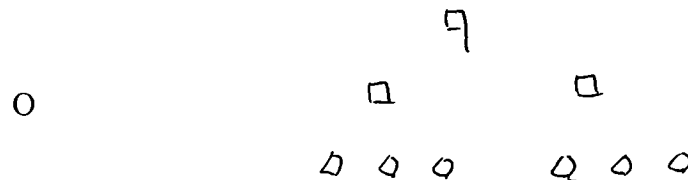
⁵² Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette*, 40

⁵³ Finscher, *Die Musik*, 2 348

The motet is in two sections and a complete statement of the Marian antiphon is seen in both sections. The first section of the work is in tempus perfectum (O) in all voices and a move to tempus perfectum diminutum (O2) marks the beginning of the second section. The sign O2 has been the subject of confusion and disagreement from its first appearance in the early 15th century right through to the present day.⁵⁴ The most popular contemporary interpretation of the sign, as advocated by John Hothby, was as a modus cum tempore sign: the circle indicates perfect minor mode and the figure 2 indicates imperfect tempus. The tactus was on the imperfect breve, thus:



whereas



Busse Berger credits Dufay with the invention of the O2 as a sign for perfect minor mode, imperfect time, noting its appearance in his masses transmitted in Trent 88 which were probably composed in the 1440s.⁵⁵ As to the relationship between O and O2, she concludes that

⁵⁴ See for a full account Busse Berger, Mensuration and Proportion Signs, 148-59, see also Taruskin, 'Antoine Busnois and the L'Homme armé tradition' and Wegman 'Communication'.




⁵⁵ Busse Berger, Mensuration and Proportion Signs, 155.

the theoretical evidence points clearly to a diminution of O2 ... by one half.⁵⁶

However, differences in the use of O2 in the music of Busnois have been noted by Wegman.⁵⁷ Busnois' Missa L'homme armé uses the same kind of note values under both O and O2 whereas in other of his sacred works there is a move to larger note values in O2. A similar situation is seen in the works of Isaac. Gossett notes that in the Choralis constantinus

the kinds of note values found under successive cut and uncut signatures ... are essentially identical ... Adopting a strictly proportional relationship, with $O \diamond = O2 \square$ means that the general motion under O2 is approximately twice as fast as under O. Yet there are compelling reasons to accept this.⁵⁸

By contrast, in Isaac's motet Virgo prudentissima, the move to O2 is marked by a noticeable shift to larger note values. In the first section of the motet (in O), the minim is the most frequently used note-value, while in the second section (in O2) the semibreve is the most frequently used note value.

			
O	102	<u>239</u>	122
O2	<u>231</u>	161	124

The issue seems to be a question of tactus and, in particular, on which unit the tactus was beaten. With reference to the works of Busnois, Busse Berger writes

... we cannot determine the tempo of a given piece from the *number of semibreves and minims*, precisely because the tactus could be either beaten on the breve (as in Busnois's other sacred

⁵⁶ ibid, 152.

⁵⁷ Wegman, 'Communication'.

⁵⁸ Gossett, 'The Mensural System', 92

compositions with O2, where larger note-values predominate) or on the semibreve, as in his Missa l'homme armé.⁵⁹

Therefore, in Isaac's case, it would appear that the tactus is beaten on the semibreve in O2 in the Choralis constantinus, where the same kinds of note values are used in both mensurations, thereby producing a doubling of speed in O2, as advocated by Gossett, and on the breve in O2 in Virgo prudentissima where there is a noticeable shift to larger note values in the new mensuration. In Virgo prudentissima tactus therefore moves from the semibreve in O to the breve in O2 and a doubling in speed of the semibreve takes place. The relationship of the note values actually employed however, is not double (2:1) but rather:

$$\begin{array}{rclclcl} \text{VO2} & & 0.893 & & & \\ \text{---} & = & \text{-----} & = & 1.38 & \\ \text{VO} & & 0.649 & & & \end{array}$$

so that the shifting of the tactus to the breve produces a much more lively general motion.

Salve regina II

This is one of Isaac's most extensive chant settings (317 bars).⁶⁰ It is transmitted in several manuscript sources including Berlin 40021, probably the work's

⁵⁹ Busse Berger, Mensuration and Proportion Signs, 153.

⁶⁰ For a full discussion of the transmission and cantus firmus treatment in this work see this study chapters one and two respectively.

earliest source.⁶¹ The work divides into ten sections. The antiphon melody appears most identifiably at the opening of each section. Here the chant may be presented unambiguously, as at the very opening of the work where the antiphon melody appears in extended note values in the superius voice (b3-11), or loosely paraphrased so that only an outline of the chant melody may be discerned (see for example b65-70 "Ad te (clamamus)"). The chant statement, however, is generally short-lived, quickly dissolving into non chant based counterpoint in which sequential writing, imitation and repetition predominate.

The work opens in tempus perfectum (O) in all voices. At the beginning of the second section ("vita dulcedo") all voices move to tempus imperfectum diminutum (ϕ) and stay in this mensuration throughout the rest of the work (except for a brief passage in triple meter b241-252). With the exception of this work, it is possible to determine that no change in tempo occurs within any of Isaac's chant settings. As we have seen, the majority of Isaac's chant settings are composed in ϕ with often short contrasting passages in ϕ3. This change in metre does not, however, involve a change in tempo. Wegman writes

In the works of composers born after about 1480 one finds O only by rare exception: ϕ is the chief mensuration, triple meter usually being notated through a proportional relationship with ϕ (usually ϕ3). In fact, the notion of tempo change as such was abandoned (the move from ϕ to ϕ3 theoretically involves no change of the tempus speed).⁶²

⁶¹ An edition of this work is published in EDM 76.202-16; see also Maier, Studien zur Geschichte der Marienantiphon, 103-07, Just, 'Studien', I:173-5; Just, Der Mensuralkodex, I:209; Picker, 'Isaac in Flanders', 157-9.

⁶² Wegman, Born for the Muses, 379

We have also seen that despite changes in mensuration in the outer voices, no change in tempo in either the outer voices or in the tenor voice takes place in the Marian antiphon setting Salve regina I. In this work, the tenor voice remains in ϕ throughout the piece, while a move from O - C with semibreve equivalence is seen in the outer voices. The tactus can therefore be seen to operate on two different levels simultaneously: in the outer voices in both O and C on the semibreve and in the tenor voice on the imperfect breve in ϕ . No change in tactus, however, occurs at any point in the work.

I suggest that a constant tempo may also be established in the antiphon setting Salve regina II, despite a change in mensuration in all voices from O to ϕ . The manner in which the antiphon melody is presented at the beginning of the first and second sections of this work may give some indication as to the tempo relationship between the perfect and imperfect mensurations. The piece opens with two false entries of the chant. The phrase "Salve regina" is heard firstly in the altus voice and is then imitated in the tenor at a bar's distance and at the fourth below, before the true statement is heard in the superius. This voice enters in b3 and sings the entire "Salve regina" phrase in perfect breves (b3-11). The chant melody is then discarded as the first section closes with a brief passage of sequential, imitative counterpoint in all voices.

The second section is in tempus imperfectum diminutum (ϕ) in all voices. This section opens with the phrase "vita dulcedo", a melodic repetition of the opening phrase "Salve regina". Correspondingly, Isaac sets this phrase in an almost

identical manner to that of the opening of the work. This time there is just one false entry of the chant, in the tenor, and it is now the bassus, entering three bars later, which is given the true chant statement at pitch and notated in dotted breves. Given the exact melodic repetition of the chant melody together with the similarity of its presentation, it could be argued that Isaac intended the two chant phrases to move at the same speed. If this were the case, the dotted breves in ϕ of the second section would equal the perfect breves in O of the opening of the work and semibreve equivalence would therefore be seen between the two mensurations, thus:

$$\begin{array}{rcl} \bigcirc & \square & = \quad \phi \quad \square \cdot \\ & \triangleleft \triangleleft \triangleleft & = \quad \triangleleft \triangleleft \triangleleft \\ \bigcirc & \bigcirc & = \quad \phi \quad \triangleleft \end{array}$$

No change in either tempo or tactus would therefore occur in the move from O to ϕ .

Semibreve equivalence between the two mensurations is supported by average note values. In contrast to both O decus ecclesiae and Angeli archangeli, the move from O to ϕ in Salve regina II is not marked by a change to larger note values. The semiminim is the most frequently used note value in both O and ϕ and average note values in the two mensurations prove correspondingly similar:

$$VO = 0.545$$

$$V\phi = 0.655$$

Comparing the frequency of note values under O and ϕ in Salve regina II, the following results obtain:

$$\frac{V\phi}{VO} = \frac{0.655}{0.545} = 1.2$$

Interestingly, this is a similar relationship to that seen between note values in O and C in Salve regina I where O and C stood in a 1:1 tempo relationship.⁶³

Salve regina I: VO = 0.563 V ϕ = 0.635

$$\frac{V\phi}{VO} = \frac{0.635}{0.563} = 1.128$$

It may be argued that the near absence of a shift to larger values in ϕ in Salve regina II, reflects not semibreve equivalence between O and ϕ but rather a 3:4 tempo relationship as we have seen in Optime divino and Quid retribuam tibi, Leo. While this may be the case, the following objections may be raised: firstly, the transmission of Salve regina II in the manuscript Berlin 40021 indicates that this is an early work, roughly contemporary with Salve regina I, Angeli archangeli and O decus ecclesiae. A 1:2 tempo relationship between O and ϕ has been shown to be appropriate in Isaac's 'early' works. This tempo relationship,

⁶³ Perhaps the ϕ in Salve regina II could be scribal variant?

however, is characterised by a noticeable change in the types of notes values used in the new mensuration (ϕ), a feature not seen in Salve regina II. A 1:2 tempo relationship between O and ϕ in this work therefore seems unlikely. The tenor motet Optime divino and the three-voice motet Quid retribuam tibi, Leo, on the other hand, are much later works and the 3:4 tempo relationship between O and ϕ evident here may reflect later trends in mensural practice. The care with which Isaac facilitates musical changes in tempo should be observed. If a 1:2 tempo relationship between O and ϕ is advocated in Salve regina II, either a very slow tempo in O or a very fast one in ϕ would result, neither of which seem to work musically. Similarly, a 3:4 tempo relationship appears even less likely. The first section of Salve regina II (in O) ends with a passage of counterpoint of a highly intricate rhythmic nature. Fusae appear in all voices and cross rhythms predominate. Establishing a 3:4 tempo relationship between the first and second sections of this work would be technically demanding. In no other of Isaac's motets is such a complex tempo change evident. Also, finally, no other chant setting by Isaac, including the antiphon setting Salve regina I, involves a change in tactus, a fact which appears to support the theory of semibreve equivalence between O and ϕ in Salve regina II.

Chapter 5

The mensural organisation of Isaac's through-composed masses

Introduction

The study of tempo relationships in Isaac's motets prompted a comparative study of the mensural organisation of Isaac's through-composed mass cycles. This repertory was chosen on the basis of its manageable size (17 works in total) and because it serves as a complementary study to Rob Wegman's work on the masses of Isaac's contemporary, Jacob Obrecht.¹

Fixed tempo relationships between perfect and imperfect time may be established in only two of Isaac's through-composed masses: M. Argentum et aurum and M. Et trop penser. Only in these two works are tempus perfectum (O) and tempus imperfectum diminutum (♩) used simultaneously (see table 5.1). Both masses are relatively early works.² Martin Staehelin believes they are the earliest of Isaac's through-composed masses, dating them c.1484/1485?³ He places their composition either in Italy or possibly even in the Netherlands prior to Isaac's arrival in Florence.⁴ A complete version of M. Argentum et aurum is transmitted only in the late 15th century manuscript Barcelona 5, while a complete version of M. Et trop penser is preserved uniquely in the manuscript Berlin 40021, copied on to paper which Just dates c. 1485-88/90.⁵ The

¹ Wegman, Born for the Muses, Appendix II; see also Wegman, 'Concerning Tempo'.

² An edition of M. Argentum et aurum is published in MD 8.3-44; an edition of M. Et trop penser is published in EDM 76.97-135.

³ Staehelin, Die Messen, III:194-6

⁴ ibid, III 28, 76

⁵ Just, Der Mensuralkodex, II:19.

Crucifixus section of this work is also transmitted in the contemporary manuscript Leipzig 1494.

Table 5.1: The mensural organisation of Isaac's through-composed mass cycles⁶

	Mensuration	Mass
1.	Simultaneous and successive use of O and ϕ	M. Argentum et aurum M. Et trop penser
2.	Successive use of O and ϕ	M. Chargé de deul M. Comme femme desconfortée M. Een vrolic wesen M. La mi la sol M. La Spagna M. Quant j'ay au cueur M. Salva nos M. Virgo prudentissima
3.	ϕ and C	M. Carminum
4.	ϕ only	M. Misericordias Domini M. Tmeiskin was jonck M. Une mousse de Biscaye M. Wohlauff gesell von hinnen (a4)

Table 5.2 outlines the mensural organisation of M. Argentum et aurum. As the table shows, tempus perfectum is seen at only three points in this work. Isaac sets the opening tenor cantus firmus statement in the Gloria, Credo and Agnus Dei movements in O against ϕ in the outer voices. The simultaneous tempo

⁶ Two masses are not considered here: M. Ferialis survives in an incomplete form only, Gloria and Credo movements are missing; and an edition of the six-voice M. Wohlauff gesell von hinnen was not available at the time this study was undertaken (now published in EDM 83:246-88). For a discussion of the relationship between this work and the four-voice mass of the same name see Noblitt, 'Contrafacta in Isaac's Missae Wohlauf, Gesell, von hinnen'.

Table 5.2: The mensural organisation of M. Argentum et aurum

Kyrie		¢		
Christe		¢		
Kyrie II		¢		
Gloria	D/A/B	¢		
Tenor		O	¢	
			b73	
Qui tollis		¢		
Credo	D/A/B	¢		
Tenor		O ...	¢	
			b166	
Et iterum		¢		
Sanctus		¢ ...	3 ...	¢
			b108	b119
Pleni (a3 SAB)		¢		
Osanna (a4)		¢		
Benedictus (a3 SAB)		¢		
Osanna (a4)			¢	
Agnus Dei	D/A/B	¢		
Tenor		O ...	¢	
			b70	
Agnus II (a3 DAB)		¢		
Agnus III (a4)		¢		

relationship between O in the tenor voice and ϕ in the outer voices is 1:2 in each case. The successive tempo relationship between O and ϕ in the tenor voice is also 1:2.

Table 5.3 outlines the mensural organisation of M. Et trop penser. In this work, the simultaneous tempo relationship between O and ϕ is again 1:2. The successive tempo relationship between O and ϕ and between O and C is determined in the opening movement. The mensural organisation of the Kyrie may be outlined thus:

Kyrie	SAB: ϕ	T: O
Christe	SAB: ϕ	T: C
Kyrie II	SAB: ϕ	T: ϕ

The continuity of ϕ in the outer voices determines that the simultaneous relationship $\phi \diamond \diamond = O \diamond$ continues to hold successively. Semibreve equivalence is seen between O and C: $O \diamond = C \diamond$. Gossett's "principle of persistence" determines that these tempo relationships then hold good for the remainder of the mass.

If within a single composition or part of a composition the successive relation between two signatures can be demonstrated once, this relationship can be presumed to persist in any voice throughout that composition or section.⁷

⁷

Gossett, 'The Mensural', 85

Table 5.3: The mensural organisation of M. Et trop penser

Kyrie	S/A/B Ten	¢ O
Christe	S/A/B Ten	¢ C
Kyrie II	S/A/T/B	¢
Gloria	S/A/T/B	O
Qui tollis	S/A/B Ten	¢ C ... ¢
Credo	Sup A/T/B	O ... C ¢
Crucifixus	Sup A/T/B	C2 ¢
Sanctus	S/A/T/B	O
Pleni (a3)	S/T/B	¢
Osanna	S/A/T/B	¢
Benedictus (a3)	S/T/B	¢
Osanna	S/A/T/B	Ø
Agnus dei	S/A/B Ten	¢ O
Agnus dei II (a3)	S/T/B	¢

In the majority of Isaac's through-composed masses perfect and imperfect time mensurations are used successively (see group 2, table 5.1). In these works, it is not possible to determine conclusively the tempo relationship between O and c . However, analysis of the types of note values used in each mensuration may help to establish a relative chronology of these works. Wegman's study of tempo in English polyphonic masses from the period c.1420-70 explores the interpretation of average note-values as time series data.⁸ He argues that in clearly defined repertories the historical tendency for tempi to slow down and the corresponding gradual introduction of smaller note values may be reflected in changing average note values. He writes

If the works of one composer are studied it may be possible to distinguish several different trends in the use of note-values, and roughly to date the groups of works adhering to those trends with the help of copying dates.⁹

Wegman's study of rhythmic density in the masses of Jacob Obrecht highlights changing mensural practice in the works of one composer.¹⁰ This chapter examines the mensural organisation of Isaac's through-composed mass cycles and explores whether chronological trends determined by copying dates are reflected in average note values. It also offers a fresh interpretation of the correlation between tempo and rhythmic movement.

⁸ Wegman, 'Concerning Tempo'.

⁹ *ibid.*, 58.

¹⁰ Wegman, *Born for the Muses*, Appendix II, p 375-83.

The relative chronology of Isaac's through-composed masses

Table 5.4 lists average note values in O and ϕ in the eight masses in which the mensurations occur successively.¹¹ Figure 5.1 presents this data graphically.

Table 5.4: Average note values in O and ϕ

		VO	V ϕ
1.	M. La Spagna	0.774	0.819
2.	M. Chargé de deul	0.668	0.844
3.	M. Quant j'ay au cueur	0.675	0.824
4.	M. Comme femme	0.68	0.749
5.	M. Virgo prudentissima	0.661	0.699
6.	M. Salva nos	0.588	0.731
7.	M. Een vrolic wesen	0.581	0.68
8.	M. La mi la sol	0.520	0.683

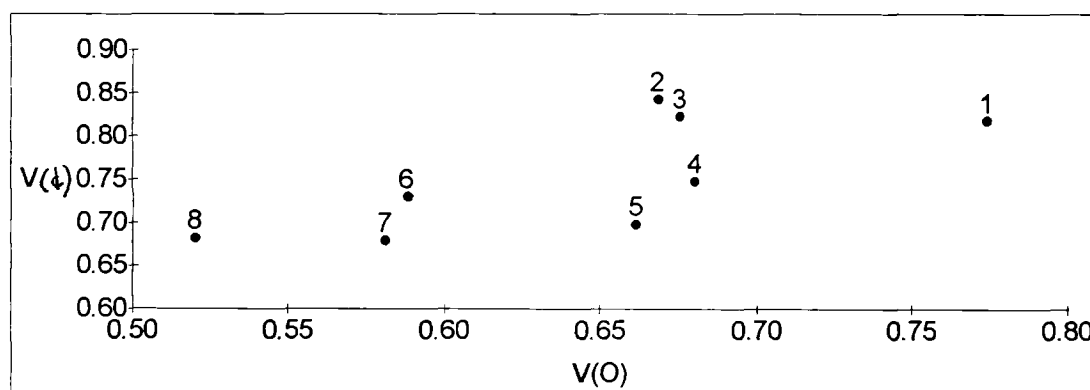


Figure 5.1: Scatter diagram of average note values in O and ϕ in Isaac's through-composed masses

To digress briefly: the mensural organisation of M. Virgo prudentissima is distinct from that of all other masses considered here. A brief analysis of the

¹¹ These figures are based on counts of note values in the upper two voice parts in each movement of each mass.

tempo relationships in this work is, therefore, offered here. This is the only through-composed mass by Isaac to use two types of imperfect time, ϕ and O2.¹² Table 5.5 outlines the mensural organisation of this work. The sign O2 has been discussed previously in connection with Isaac's six-voice tenor motet Virgo prudentissima, which uses the same chant as cantus firmus. The first section of this work is in O and a move to O2 marks the opening of the second section. In this work, the following tempo relationship between O and O2 is seen.

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc}
 \text{O} & & \square & & = & & \text{O2} & & \square & & \square & & \square \\
 & & \diamond & & \diamond & & \diamond & & \diamond & & \diamond & & \diamond
 \end{array}$$

The same tempo relationship between O and O2 may be assumed for M. Virgo prudentissima. The appearance of two imperfect time mensurations, ϕ and O2, in this mass may throw light on the tempo relationship between O and ϕ .

The successive mensuration sequence O ϕ O3 O2 \emptyset is seen in the opening movement of this mass (see table 5.5). If a 1:2 tempo relationship between O and ϕ is assumed then the following tempo relationships are seen:

$$\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c}
 \text{O} & \phi & \text{O3} & \text{O2} & \emptyset \\
 \hline
 \square & \square & \square & \square & \square \\
 \diamond & \diamond & \diamond & \diamond & \diamond
 \end{array}$$

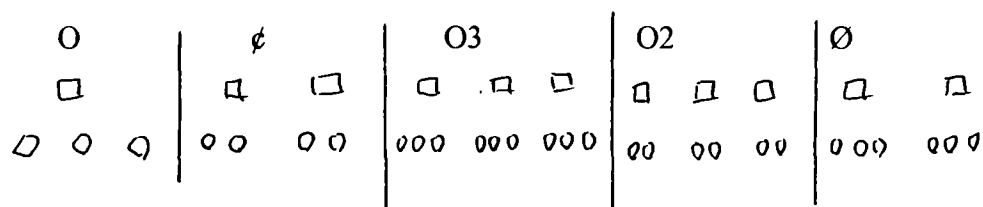
¹²

Average note values in ϕ listed in table 5.4 are calculated from sections in ϕ only (ie Christe I, Pleni, Osanna I and Benedictus)

Table 5.5: The mensural organisation of M. Virgo prudentissima

Kyrie		O
	Christe I	ϕ
	Christe II	O2/3 ... O2
	Kyrie II	Ø
Gloria		O
	Qui tollis	O2 ... 3 ... O2
Credo		O
	Et resurrexit	O2
Sanctus		O
	Pleni	ϕ
	Osanna	ϕ
	Benedictus	ϕ
	Osanna	O2/3 ... O2
Agnus Dei		O

Here, little distinction is seen between the mensural organisation of ϕ and O2 and both mensurations will have the same tempo relationship with O. If, however, a 3:4 tempo relationship between O and ϕ is assumed, then the following tempo relationships result:



Here, significantly different tempo relationships are seen between, on the one hand, O and ϕ , and on the other, O and O2. If we accept a 3:4 tempo

relationship between O and ϕ , then Isaac's distinction between ϕ and O2 in this mass contributes to the varietas of the work's mensural relationships.

Returning to figure 5.1: a decrease in the average note values in both O and ϕ may be observed. Slower tempi are implied in the bottom left hand corner of the graph where average note values are smallest. The implied chronological order of composition will therefore be top right to bottom left with M. La Spagna the earliest of the masses under consideration and M. La mi la sol the latest. Is this relative chronology supported by the transmission of these works?

M. Chargé de deul

This mass is disseminated in a considerable number of manuscript sources.¹³ A fragmentary version of the work is transmitted in the manuscript Lucca 238. Reinhard Strohm believes that Isaac's M. Chargé de deul, together with Johannes Martini's Missa Orsus orsus, are later additions to this manuscript and were both probably copied in Italy.¹⁴ He suggests that Isaac's mass may have been composed shortly after the composer's arrival in Florence in 1484.¹⁵ An early date of composition for this mass is supported by the separate transmission of the "Christe" section in two Florentine chansonniers, Florence B.R.229 and Florence 178, both of which were compiled in the early 1490s.¹⁶ Florence 178 also transmits a contrafact version of the "Qui tollis" section of M. Chargé de deul. Staehelin, who gives a terminus ante quem of 1505 for the composition of this

¹³ Full details in Picker, A Guide, 23; see also AMMM 10:74-113; CMM 65/vi:1-37

¹⁴ Strohm, Music in Late Medieval Bruges, 121.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, 131.

¹⁶ Brown, A Florentine Chansonnier, Atlas, The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier, I:247.

mass, suggests that it may have been composed in the last two decades of the 15th century.¹⁷

M. Comme femme desconfortée

The transmission of M. Comme femme indicates that this mass is roughly contemporary to Isaac's M. Chargé de deul.¹⁸ Manuscript sources include the late 15th century manuscripts, Barcelona 5 and the Vatican manuscript Rome VatCS 49. On the basis of scribe and watermarks, Richard Sherr dates the copying of the mass in this latter source ca. 1495-97.¹⁹ The "Benedictus" section is also transmitted (with contrafact text) in the Cappella Giulia chansonnier which was compiled ca 1492-94.²⁰ Staehelin draws parallels between this work and two early masses, M. Argentum et aurum and M. Et trop penser.

... man wird bei der ihr eigenen Neigung zum Ostinato-Satz an die M. "Argentum et aurum" and die M. "Et trop penser" denken und eine entsprechende frühe Datierung der Komposition ins Auge fassen.²¹

He suggests that M. Comme femme was probably composed before 1490.²²

M. Een vrolic wesen

This mass is transmitted in two manuscripts which date from the first decade of the 16th century.²³ The manuscript Verona 756 belongs to the Netherlands court complex and was copied in Brussels or Mechlin in ca. 1508.²⁴ It transmits 10

¹⁷ Staehelin, Die Messen, I:95; III:94

¹⁸ CMM 65/vi:38-77; see also Steib, 'A Composer Looks at his Model', 11-18

¹⁹ Sherr, Papal Music Manuscripts, 195.

²⁰ Atlas, The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier, I:26-8.

²¹ Staehelin, Die Messen, III:86.

²² ibid, III 85.

²³ CMM 65/vi:105-139.

²⁴ Census-Catalogue, see also Staehelin, 'Quellenkundliche Beiträge'

masses, including three by Isaac, and a Sanctus-Agnus pair. The altus part book, Basel F.IX.25g transmits only Isaac's M. Een vrolic wesen.²⁵ This manuscript was copied by the same scribe as Basel F.IX.25a-d. Kmetz believes that both manuscripts date from the first decade of the 16th century and probably originally belonged to a church or cloister in Basel. M. Een vrolic wesen is also transmitted in the early 16th century manuscript Berlin 40634 as well as in the Missae tredecim quatuor vocum printed by H Grapheus (Formschneider) in Nuremberg in 1539 [RISM 1539²]. The "Pleni" section is transmitted separately in several mid-16th century sources.²⁶ Staehelin dates the composition of this mass before 1490, a relatively early date considering the work's transmission.²⁷

M. La mi la sol

The earliest extant source for this mass is Johannes Petreius' Liber quindecim missarum of 1539 [RISM 1539¹].²⁸ However, a terminus post quem of 1502 can be established for the composition of the mass. Isaac bases the mass on his two-part motet La mi la sol, which is known to have been composed in Ferrara in 1502.²⁹ In a letter sent to Duke Ercole of Ferrara by his agent Gian, Isaac is described as composing a motet over the "fantasia la mi la sol la sol la mi" in just two days.³⁰ Lewis Lockwood has convincingly argued that this letter dates from

²⁵ Kmetz, Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Basel, 88-104.

²⁶ Full details of sources listed in Picker, A Guide, 25.

²⁷ Staehelin, Die Messen, III:99.

²⁸ MD 8:120-140.

²⁹ See Elders, 'Zur Frage der Vorlage'.

³⁰ Staehelin, Die Messen, II 56-9

2 September 1502.³¹ The mass, which incorporates the motet as its "Patrem" and "Et unam sanctam" sections, therefore postdates 1502.

M. La Spagna

This mass is probably a relatively early work.³² Manuscript sources include two late 15th century manuscripts: Barcelona 5, where it appears as Missa Sobre Castila; and Milan 2 where it appears with the title Missa de Bassadanza. The "Qui tollis" section is transmitted in the manuscript Warsaw 2016 as the Agnus Dei of Missa Chargé de deul, while the second Agnus Dei movement is transmitted, without text, in Leipzig 1494 (before 1504) and Verona 757 (ca. 1500).³³ Staehelin places the composition of this mass in Isaac's Italian employment in the decade from 1485.³⁴

M. Quant j'ay au cuer

This mass, and its Benedictus section in particular, is widely disseminated.³⁵ An incomplete version of the mass (Kyrie and Sanctus incomplete, Agnus lacking) is transmitted in the Sienese manuscript Siena K.1.2 of the Biblioteca Comunale, Siena. Archival evidence discovered by Frank D'Accone reveals that in February 1481 Matteo Ghai, a Frenchman employed as a music copyist by the Cathedral of Siena, was commissioned by the Cathedral's overseer, Alberto di Francesco Aringheri, to copy a collection of music for Vespers and the mass.³⁶ Ghai

³¹ Lockwood, Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 204-5.

³² CMM 65/vii.1-42; AMMM 10.1-37.

³³ RMF 24

³⁴ Staehelin, Die Messen, III 40.

³⁵ EDM 77.56-84, CMM 65 vii 43-83, AMMM 10:38-73

³⁶ D'Accone, 'A Late 15th Century Sienese Repertory'

completed his work by July of the same year. Isaac's M. Quant j'ay au cuer appears in fascicles 17-19 of the manuscript, copied in Ghai's hand. The 1481 date is by far the earliest manuscript date for the mass. In his study of the masses of Jacob Obrecht, Wegman questions D'Accone's dating. Wegman writes:

The paper of SienBC K.1.2 bears a type of watermark that is not documented anywhere in Europe before 1491; in Siena, where the choirbook must have been compiled, paper of this type has been found only in the period 1495-1524 ... D'Accone's dating ... seems problematic in that it precedes the earliest documented use of this paper-type by ten years, and at Siena in particular by fourteen years.³⁷

Isaac's mass also appears in the tenth layer (f. 102-112) of the manuscript Berlin 40021, copied on to paper which Just dates c.1490.³⁸ This rather later date than that suggested by D'Accone seems to be supported by the work's transmission in, amongst very many other sources, Rome VatCS 35 (ca 1487-90), Milan 2 (ca.1490-1500) and Segovia (ca. 1502). Manuscript sources of the "Benedictus" section include the Florentine chansonniers Florence B.R.229 (ca. 1492) and the Cappella Giulia chansonnier (ca. 1492).³⁹ Staehelin places the mass in Isaac's early Italian employment possibly before 1490.⁴⁰

M. Salva nos

A terminus ante quem of 1492 may be established for the composition of this mass.⁴¹ Isaac's motet Quis dabit capiti meo laments the death of Lorenzo de'

³⁷ Wegman, Born for the Muses, 100

³⁸ Just, Der Mensuralkodex, II:25.

³⁹ Full list of sources in Picker, A Guide, 28

⁴⁰ Staehelin, Die Messen, III:81.

⁴¹ MD 8:45-74.

Medici (d. 8 April 1492). The work sets a newly-composed text by the humanist poet Angelo Poliziano (1454-94) and divides musically into four sections. Three of the four sections of the motet are borrowed from various sections of the M. Salva nos, Isaac simply setting new text to old music. The third section only of the motet is newly-composed.⁴² Isaac's M. Salva nos must therefore date from no later than April 1492 and may possibly also have been composed as a funeral piece for Lorenzo de Medici.

The transmission of M. Salva nos is remarkably similar to that of M. Een vrolic wesen (see above). The two works share three concordances: Verona 756; Berlin 40634 and Grapheus' Missae tredecim quatuor vocum [RISM 1539²]. M. Salva nos is also transmitted in the manuscript Basel F.IX.55 which, like Basel F.IX.25g, originates from Basel in the first decade of the 16th century.⁴³ Basel F.IX.55 consists of two originally independent layers. The first layer was copied by Jacob Salandronius who addressed the manuscript to "Matis brotbeck in der kleinen stat" (see fol. 1r) and at the same time noted his own address "Venerabili magistro Jacobo salandronio / lude magistro scole divi theodori". Salandronius, a teacher at the Latin school of St Theodor, is known to have given up his post in April 1510. A terminus ante quem for the copying of this first layer of the manuscript is therefore ascertained.

⁴² Atlas, 'A Note'; Staehelin, 'Communication'; Atlas, 'Communication'; Taruskin, 'Settling an Old Score'; Strohm, The Rise, 636-7.

⁴³ Kmetz, Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Basel, 176-80.

The second layer of the manuscript, which transmits only Isaac's M. Salva nos, probably existed for some time independently. Kmetz believes that it was Salandronius who compiled the manuscript, folding the two layers together before he addressed the manuscript to Brotbeck. The second layer of the manuscript must therefore have originated before the layer copied by Salandronius. Kmetz concludes that the manuscript transmits a repertory which was performed at the Latin school of St Theodor, or in the parish church, in the first decade of the 16th century.⁴⁴ The "Kyrie", "Benedictus" and "Agnus III" sections of M. Salva nos are also transmitted separately in various central European manuscript and printed sources.

M. Virgo prudentissima

It seems likely that Isaac's six-voice Missa Virgo prudentissima was composed for the Imperial court chapel of Maximilian I.⁴⁵ The transmission and a possible performance of the mass are discussed in chapter three.⁴⁶ To summarise briefly. Manuscript sources of the mass include: the Habsburg choirbook Munich 31, copied ca 1510 probably by Ludwig Senfl;⁴⁷ the slightly later, related source, Munich C, copied ca 1538-44 for Count Ottheinrich of the Palatinate;⁴⁸ the Burgundian chapel choirbook Brussels 6428; and the manuscript Jena 36.⁴⁹ The

⁴⁴ ibid., 178.

⁴⁵ MD 8:75-115.

⁴⁶ See 221-23.

⁴⁷ Census-catalogue, Bente, Neue Wege, 50-55.

⁴⁸ Bente, Neue Wege, 198-206

⁴⁹ The Jena choirbook is omitted from Picker's list of sources, see A Guide, 30

Credo section only is transmitted in Florence 232 (ca. 1516-21)⁵⁰ and Rome VatCS 45 (ca 1511-14).⁵¹

The Burgundian choirbook transmits a different Agnus setting to that found in the manuscripts Munich 31 and Munich C (there is no Agnus section in Jena 34). Staehelin believes that the Brussels Agnus is not, in fact, part of the original mass composition but comprises rather the first section of a two-part motet based on the antiphon "Virgo prudentissima".⁵² Certainly the version transmitted in the Habsburg choirbook, Munich 31, would appear to have priority over the Brussels source.

In summary: manuscript sources indicate that several masses may have been composed before 1490. These include the three stylistically similar chanson-based masses Missae Chargé de deul, Quant j'ay au cueur and Comme femme and possibly also Missa La Spagna. M. Salva nos was probably composed before 1492. The similarity in transmission of this mass and M. Een vrolic wesen may indicate that the latter work also dates from around this time. M. Virgo prudentissima seems to have been composed before 1503 while M. La mi la sol was probably composed after 1502.

Correspondences between the approximate dates of composition suggested by the works' transmission and the relative chronology indicated by average note

⁵⁰ Cummings, 'A Florentine Sacred Repertory'.

⁵¹ An overview of the work's sources is given in Staehelin, MD 8:160-63; see also Staehelin, Die Messen, III:33-7.

⁵² ibid., 161.

values (see table 5.4) may be observed. Average note values indicate that the earliest of the works under consideration is M. La Spagna. While the transmission of this work provides no direct confirmation of this, an early date of composition for this mass seems, nonetheless, reasonable given the late 15th century origin of several of its manuscript sources. Average note values also indicate that the three masses based on French chansons are closely related chronologically, a feature supported by the works' transmission.

More controversial is the relative chronology indicated by average note values of the Missae Virgo prudentissima, Een vrolic wesen and Salva nos. Musical evidence suggests that M. Salva nos was composed no later than 1492. The similarity in transmission between this work and M Een vrolic wesen, outlined above, suggests that the latter work may also date from about this time. Average note values appear to support this assumption. Average note values in perfect time in both masses are almost identical. If M. Salva nos dates from no later than 1492, both masses therefore date from Isaac's period of Italian employment. In this context, the predominantly central European transmission of both works is curious. The Florentine provenance of Missae Chargé de deul, Comme femme and Quant j'ay au cueur is supported by the transmission in north Italian sources of individual sections from each mass. This type of transmission is not apparent in either M. Salva nos or M. Een vrolic wesen, although the loss of sources must be kept in mind.

Average note values place the composition of M. Virgo prudentissima in close proximity to the chanson-based masses and before both Missae Salva nos and Een vrolic wesen. However, archival evidence and the work's transmission strongly suggest that M. Virgo prudentissima was composed for the Imperial court chapel. The relative chronology of Missae Virgo prudentissima, Salva nos and Een vrolic wesen suggested by average note values must therefore be viewed with some caution. It seems prudent to bestow greater credence on external evidence, such as a work's transmission, than on internal evidence such as average note values. The relatively late date of composition of M. La mi la sol which is suggested by archival evidence is reflected in the work's average note values.

In conclusion, average note values can sometimes reflect chronological trends determined by copying dates. Average note values as time series data, must however, be interpreted with caution.

The correlation between tempo and rhythmic movement in O and ϕ

Studies by Charles Hamm and Wegman have noted significant changes in the types of note values used when a move from O to ϕ takes place.⁵³ Wegman writes

In fifteenth-century music there is always a shift to larger values when the mensuration changes from O to the faster ϕ .⁵⁴

⁵³ Hamm, A Chronology, Wegman, Born; see also Wegman, 'Concerning Tempo'

⁵⁴ Wegman, Born, 376.

This trend also appears to be supported by the figures listed in table 5.4. Average note values in ϕ are consistently bigger than those in O. However, the following paragraphs argue that changes in types of note values, or changes in the density of rhythmic events, are often independent of changes in tempo.

In Isaac's masses, careful analysis of the precise points at which changes in mensuration occur reveals that the average note values listed in table 5.4 comprise disparate components. All the sections in perfect time, for which average note values have been calculated, are sections in which a cantus firmus is presented. By contrast, the sections in imperfect time may be either with or without cantus firmus and average note values have been calculated regardless of this fact.

If one mass is taken as an example the significance of the musical structure of the work becomes obvious. Table 5.6 outlines the mensural organisation of Missa La Spagna together with details of where the cantus firmus occurs in each movement (the cantus firmus comprises five phrases labelled a-e and the voice in which the cf appears is also shown: D: discantus; A: altus; T: tenor; B: bassus).

Table 5.6: The mensural organisation of M. La Spagna

	Mensuration	Cantus firmus
Kyrie	O	a-c: T
Christe	♢	free
Kyrie II	Ø	d-e: T
Gloria		
Et in terra	O	a-e: T
Domine fili (a3)	♢	free
Qui tollis (a2)	♢	a: A; b-d: B
Quoniam	♢ ... 3	a-e: T
Credo		
Patrem	O	a-e: T
Crucifixus	♢ ... 3	free
Et ascendit	♢ ... 3	a-e: T
Sanctus	O	a-e: T
Pleni (a2)	♢	free
Osanna	♢	a-e: T
Benedictus (a3)	♢	free
Osanna (repeat)		
Agnus Dei	O	a-e: T
Agnus II	♢	a-e: B
Agnus III	Ø	a-e: T

Each movement opens with a section in perfect time with the cantus firmus in the tenor voice (O, cf). This is followed in each case (Agnus dei excepted) by a cantus firmus free section in imperfect time (ϕ , cf free). The three central movements then have at least one further section in imperfect time, this time with cantus firmus (ϕ , cf). The presence or not of a cantus firmus in imperfect time sections is seen to have significant bearing on average note values, as the following figures show:

Table 5.7: Average note values in perfect and imperfect time in M. La Spagna

Mass section	V(O) (with cf)	V(ϕ) (with cf)	V(ϕ) (cf free)
Kyrie	0.783		
Christe			0.709
Et in terra	0.84		
Domine fili			0.694
Quoniam		1.046	
Patrem	0.799		
Crucifixus			0.705
Et ascendit		1.031	
Sanctus	0.757		
Osanna I		1.044	
Benedictus			0.646
Quoniam		1.046	
Agnus dei I	0.709		
Agnus dei II		0.65	

The difference between the averages within each of the three groups ((O, cf), (ϕ , cf), (ϕ , ϕ free)) is negligible and a consistency of rhythmic movement is seen which is dependent on musical context. Significant changes in the types of note values used are therefore not only caused by changes in tempo. The move from (ϕ , cf) to (ϕ , cf free) involves no change in tempo but a significant change in the density of rhythmic events is heard, which is reflected in the difference in average note values, compare for example: "Domine fili" (ϕ , cf free) $V\phi = 0.694$ and "Quoniam" (ϕ , cf) $V\phi = 1.046$. The move from O to ϕ involves a change in tempo (1:2) but the rhythmic density in ϕ depends on the type of musical setting. Sections in (O, cf) and (ϕ , cf free) are composed in roughly the same type of note values. The change in tempo introduced by the ϕ mensuration will cause an audible increase in the density of rhythmic events. Whereas, the change in tempo from (O, cf) to (ϕ , cf) is tempered by the immediate shift to longer note values in (ϕ , cf) and the increase in density of rhythmic events will be less. Changes in the density of rhythmic events are therefore often independent of changes in tempo.

A revised version of table 5.4 may now be introduced. The following table lists average note values for perfect time (O, cf) and the two types of imperfect time (ϕ , cf) and (ϕ , cf free) in each of the eight masses.

Table 5.8: Average note values in perfect and imperfect time in Isaac's through-composed masses

	VO (with cf)	V ϕ (with cf)	V ϕ (cf free)
M. La Spagna	0.774	0.915	0.685
M. Chargé de deul	0.668	0.927	0.722
M. Quant j'ay au cueur	0.675	0.872	0.700
M. Comme femme	0.680	0.761	0.698
M. Virgo prudentissima	0.661	0.79	0.681
M. Salva nos	0.588	0.744	0.665
M. Een vrolic wesen	0.581	0.680	0.683
M. La mi la sol	0.520	0.683	-

A linear presentation of these figures highlights the relationships between the three types of setting.

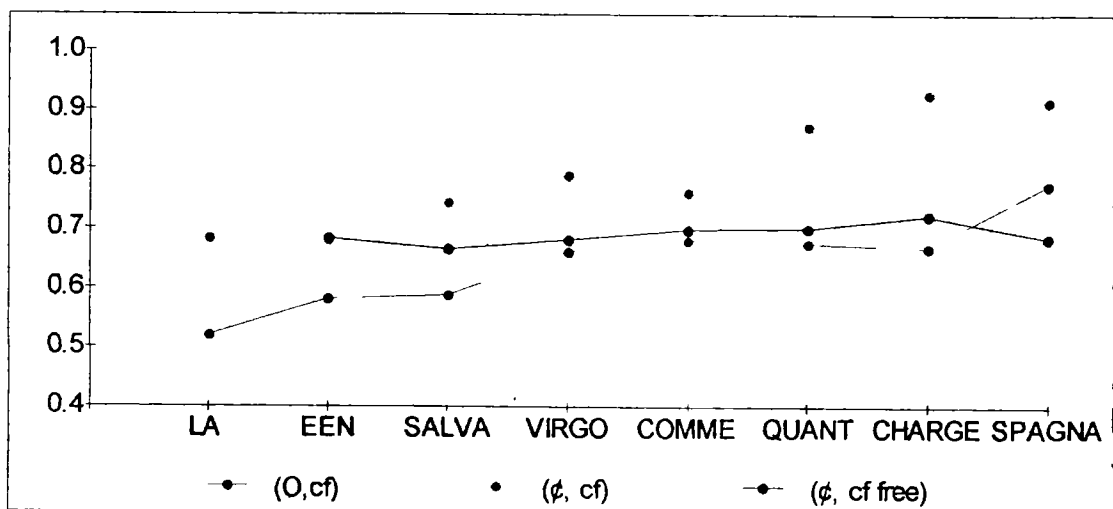


Figure 5.2: Linear presentation of average note values in Isaac's masses

The average note values in (O, cf) and (ϕ , cf) are seen to decrease in a fairly consistent fashion with again, an implied chronology from the top right to bottom left of the graph. The line which represents (ϕ , cf free) however, appears unrelated to either (O, cf) or (ϕ , cf). The average notes values in (ϕ , cf free) are surprisingly similar in all eight masses. There is no significant increase or decrease in values. Indeed, the average note values for (ϕ , cf free) for the two masses at the extremities of the graph, M. La Spagna and M. Een vrolic wesen, (no cf-free sections in M. La mi la sol) assumed to be chronologically most distant, are remarkably similar - M. La Spagna ($V\phi$) = 0.685, M. Een vrolic wesen ($V\phi$) = 0.683. The changes in tempi implied by decreasing average note values in (O, cf) and (ϕ , cf), do not appear to occur in cf-free sections. Isaac appears to have continued to have composed cf-free sections in predominantly the same tempi over several decades regardless of the changing tempi of cantus firmus sections. It is as though, when released from the restrictions of cf, he switches into a cf-free mode of composition, which remained very much the same over a considerable period of time.

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Chapter 6

Cantus firmus and function in Isaac's motets

Introduction

The brief overview of Isaac's motet composition given in the introduction to this study highlights the many different types of work which the term 'motet' encapsulates.¹ Isaac's motets include, for example, settings of liturgical chant, occasional works composed for specific events or people, as well as instrumental-type pieces. In his *Terminorum musicae diffinitorium* of 1472/73, Johannes Tinctoris embraced all such pieces, and many more, within the definition

Motetum est cantus mediocris: cui verba cuiusvis materiae sed frequentius divinae supponuntur.²

Recent studies which explore the function of the late 15th and early 16th century motet acknowledge the distinction between these different types of polyphony.³ Studies by Anthony Cummings and Jeremy Noble, for example, consistently distinguish between, on the one hand, "strictly liturgical music" and, on the other, "motets". While liturgical music evidently comprises polyphonic settings of items for the Mass and Divine Offices including, for example, Mass Ordinary and Proper settings, Magnificat settings, hymns, psalms, and antiphons which

¹ The question "What is a motet?" is discussed in L. Finscher and A. Laubenthal, "'Cantiones quae vulgo motectae vocantur': Arten der Motette im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert", *Die Musik des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Finscher, 276-84; H. Hücke, 'Was ist eine Motette?', *Die Motette*, ed. H. Schneider, 9-17; J. Haar, 'Conference Introductory Remarks', *Hearing the Motet*, ed. D. Pesce, 12-16; Strunk, 'Some Motet Types'.

² See facsimile of this source published in 1983.

³ Cummings, 'Toward an Interpretation of the Sixteenth-Century Motet'; Noble, 'The Function of Josquin's Motets'; see also Kirsch, 'Zum Verhältnis von Motettenstil und Liturgisch-Musikalischer Praxis'; Shephard, 'A Liturgico-Musical Reappraisal'.

were performed in their appropriate liturgical contexts, the character and function of the motet, by contrast, is less easy to define. Cummings describes the sixteenth-century motet as a "para-liturgical compositional type".⁴ Motets set texts that were devotional, but which did not necessarily have a specific liturgical function. The performance of motets was therefore not an essential part of the liturgy. Indeed, Noble describes the motet as an "optional spiritual adornment".⁵ If motets had no specific 'home' within the liturgy, when were they performed? Cummings and Noble both present detailed evidence for the singing of motets at certain points during the Mass, at the Offertory, the Elevation and Communion, as well as in such non-ritual contexts as at the Pope's table during dinner. Recent research has shown, however, that motets were very often performed outside of the Mass and Divine services.

The distinction between motets and liturgical music appears to be corroborated by the sources. Cummings finds evidence for the performance of liturgical music in archival documents in Florence which outline the ritual uses of polyphony at the Florentine Cathedral and Baptistery. These sources call for polyphonic settings of specific classes of liturgical texts including Vespers texts, Lamentations of Jeremiah and Holy Week Responds. Cummings notes, however, that these liturgical directives reserve no place for the singing of motets. He writes

such pieces seem not to have served fixed purposes within the ritual service.⁶

⁴ Cummings, 'Toward an Interpretation', 59.

⁵ Noble, 'The function', 9.

⁶ Cummings, 'Toward an Interpretation', 56.

Cummings identifies musical sources from Florence which preserve the ‘musical complement’ to these liturgical directives. The manuscript Florence II.I.350, for example, transmits polyphonic settings of the Responsories for Good Friday and Holy Saturday by Bernardo Pisano and settings of the Lamentations of Jeremiah by Genet, Brumel and Johannis de Quadris. Cummings observes that, in accordance with the liturgical directives, musical sources such as these are

remarkable for their virtual exclusion of the types of text normally utilized in motet settings.⁷

In contrast, Cummings identifies other musical sources which are devoted almost exclusively to the motet literature. These includes manuscripts such as Florence 232, Padua A17 and Rome VatCS 46. Cummings concludes that

... the evidence affords a view of the motet as a genre distinct from those genuinely liturgical works preserved in the Duomo manuscripts.⁸

Cummings finds stylistic features which distinguish the two groups of works. While the motet as a genre is characterised by “refined and advanced contrapuntal techniques”,⁹ functional works such as Pisano responsory settings are described as

short and uncomplicated in their chordal settings ... The normal complexities of contrapuntal writing are systematically avoided. Imitation, independent rhythms, and other polyphonic devices are absent and the works are characterized by full harmonies and straightforward syllabic declamation.¹⁰

Cummings writes

The stylistic features of these liturgical pieces thus set them apart from the motet as a genre.¹¹

⁷ *ibid.*, 57.

⁸ *ibid.*, 58-9.

⁹ *ibid.*, 58.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, 57.

¹¹ *ibid.*, 58.

Cummings concludes his study with the suggestion that the two repertoires of sacred works may have been initiated by separate institutions. Patently liturgical works were composed to fulfil the liturgical directives of corporate institutions such as Florence Cathedral while the composition of the more refined genre of the motet may have resulted from “private initiatives, princely and papal”.¹²

Reinhard Strohm’s recent study explores physical locations for musical performance.¹³ He describes the choir and chapel as the principal locations for the performance of music in church. In the hierarchical structure of the medieval church, the choir and chapel served different functions. The Mass and Divine Offices took place in the choir. The chapel, on the other hand, is described as the

... most important place for music-making in the late Middle Ages.¹⁴

Chapels were built and maintained by wealthy individuals and families, by dukes and princes as well as by lay congregations. Their primary purpose was the saying of masses. In addition, ritual observances in the chapel could include votive services such as evening Salve or lof services, suffrages and other brief endowed ceremonies. Evidence for the performance of polyphony in chapels survives from the 14th and 15th centuries. Strohm finds evidence for the performance of polyphony at the church of St Donatian’s in Bruges as early as 1417,¹⁵ while a recent study by Rob Wegman shows that a daily polyphonic lof

¹² *ibid.*, 59.

¹³ Strohm, *The Rise*, 270-87.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, 273.

¹⁵ Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, 15

service was established by the Guild of Our Lady in the Chapel of Our Lady in Bergen op Zoom in December 1470.¹⁶

Strohm believes that music performed in the choir and chapel may have comprised different repertoires. Polyphonic adornment in the choir was “modest” and

introduced ... above all for the major feasts such as Christmas and Easter, and for liturgical genres which lacked a laud audience, such as lessons and responsory verses at Matins, or hymns.¹⁷

Strohm notes that

Significantly, no connections between this music and private patronage are known;¹⁸

By contrast, music performed in a chapel was often privately endowed.¹⁹ Strohm lists as the main genres of chapel music the cantus firmus mass, the votive antiphon and the antiphon motet. He writes

The motet and votive antiphon were .. characteristic ‘chapel music’. They were accretions to the liturgy and thus a priori not part of the choral duties, although they might sometimes have been inserted into Mass or Office services in the choir ... Much more often, motets were attached to votive services such as Marian Vespers or Compline in the Lady Chapel .. to suffrages and other brief endowed ceremonies in chapels ... to processions when motets were sung at stations in front of special altars, and in more secular contexts in schools and refectories.²⁰

¹⁶ Wegman, ‘Music and Musicians’, 183-6.

¹⁷ Strohm, The Rise, 281-2.

¹⁸ ibid., 281.

¹⁹ Haggh, ‘The Meeting of Sacred Ritual and Secular Piety’.

²⁰ ibid., 282.

Archival evidence for the performance of motets in chapels has been found by Kristine Forney. She describes the musical life of confraternities in Antwerp and in particular, those at the Church of Our Lady.²¹ In this church, the largest lay organisation was the Confraternity of Our Lady which was founded in 1465. Nightly lof or Salve services were established by this organisation in 1479. Forney finds evidence for the performance of motets at these evening services in the pay records of the Confraternity which describe in some detail the preparation of music manuscripts. She notes the

... overriding need for Requiem masses and motets on Marian themes by the lay organisation;²²

Further insight into where and when the late 15th and early 16th century motet was performed may be gained through analysis of specific repertoires. The motets of Isaac offer an ideal repertory for such a study and have not previously been explored from this angle.

The functions of Isaac's motets

In what contexts, therefore, were Isaac's motets performed? Is it possible to determine whether Isaac's motets functioned as liturgical polyphony? Can any of his work be considered 'chapel music'? Close analysis of the transmission of Isaac's work goes some way to answering such questions.

²¹ Forney, 'Music, Ritual and Patronage'.

²² *ibid*, 32.

Liturgical polyphony

That some of Isaac's motets may have functioned as liturgical polyphony is suggested by their transmission in sources which transmit liturgical music and which are organised according to the calendar of the church year.²³ The motets by Isaac which these sources transmit are, without exception, settings of chant.

The choirbook Munich 31 was probably copied by Ludwig Senfl ca 1510 for use by the court chapel of Maximilian I.²⁴ It is devoted exclusively to music by Isaac and, with the exception of the five-voice antiphon setting Regina caeli laetare, comprises music for six voices. The manuscript transmits mostly music for the Mass including 14 mass proper sections which are ordered according to the liturgical calendar and are prefaced with their appropriate liturgical associations (for example in festo Epiphanie: Introitus Ecce advenit dominator (fol. 155v)). The six-voice Leise setting Christus surrexit and the antiphon setting Regina caeli laetare are both Easter pieces. They appear in a small group of Easter proper settings (fol. 171v-201r) which begins with the introit Resurrexi et adhuc.

The collection of polyphony preserved at the Proske Musikbibliothek at Regensburg includes a set of choirbooks and partbooks which were copied over a short space of time, possibly by Erasmus Zollner, cantor at the Gymnasium Poeticum in Regensburg during the 1570s.²⁵ The manuscripts, which were

²³ Hamm, 'Interrelationships Between Manuscript and Printed Sources', esp. 7-10 and Lockwood, 'A View of the Early Sixteenth Century Parody Mass'.

²⁴ Census Catalogue, Bente, Neue Wege, 50-5; Bente et al., Katalog der Musikhandschriften 133-5

²⁵ Haberkamp, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, see also Hamm, 'Interrelationships', 8

probably used by the Gymnasium Poeticum in local evangelical services, are arranged as follows:

Table 6.1:

<u>Choirbooks</u>	<u>Date of copying</u>		<u>Chant settings by Isaac</u>
A.R.838-843	1571-73	Advent, Nativity, Epiphany	Cum esset desponsata Judea et Jerusalem
A.R.844-848	1573-77	Quadragesima, Holy Week	Defensor noster
A.R.849-852	1569-78	Easter Sunday	
<u>Part-books</u>			
A.R.853-856	ca 1570-80	Nativity	Cum esset desponsata Verbum caro factum
A..R857-860	1570-79	Purification, Annunciation	
A.R.861-862	1577	St John the Baptist, St Michael	
A.R.863-870	1572-79	Quadragesima, Holy Week	Defensor noster
A.R.871-874	1578/79	Easter	
A.R.875-877	1568-79	Ascension	
A.R.878-882	1569-72	Pentecost	
A.R.883-886	1573-79	Trinity	Te mane laudum

These manuscripts transmit a variety of liturgical music, monophonic as well as polyphonic. Isaac's chant settings - the Christmas antiphon and responsory settings Cum esset desponsata mater, Verbum caro factum est and Judea et Jerusalem and the hymn settings Defensor noster aspice and Te mane laudum carmine - appear in their appropriate liturgical contexts in each source.

The manuscript Stuttgart 33 forms part of a large collection of choirbooks copied for the chapel of Ulrich, Duke of Württemberg (1487-1550).²⁶ It was copied after 1544 and transmits 28 settings of responsory texts for the temporal cycle from Easter to Corpus Christi. It forms a pair with the manuscript Stuttgart 31 which transmits responsory settings from Advent to Lent. Seventeen of the responsory settings in Stuttgart 33 are by Balthasar Resinarius and just one - Accessit ad pedes Jesu (de S. Maria Magdalene) - is by Isaac.

The chant settings which these sources transmit are, for the most part, relatively straightforward works in which the presentation of the chant is the primary concern. The cantus firmus is clearly identifiable in one or more of the voices and the dimensions of each work are determined by the chant. Each setting begins and ends with the chant statement. With the exception of the antiphon setting Regina caeli laetare, they are all examples of, what I term, Isaac's free cantus firmus elaborations.²⁷ Stylistic parallels may be drawn between these works and Isaac's Choralis constantinus, a body of music known to have functioned as liturgical polyphony. Here too,

... the main concern was to present the liturgical chant in a particularly fine setting for a special feast-day.²⁸

It seems fair to assume, therefore, that in these contexts, these chant settings may have functioned as liturgical polyphony. The five-voice antiphon setting Regina caeli laetare, transmitted in the manuscript Munich 31, is one of Isaac's more

²⁶ Gottwald, Codices Musici, 58-62

²⁷ See chapter two.

²⁸ Just, 'Polyphony Based on Chant', 130.

elaborate chant settings. This work is in four sections and at times the chant melody is only loosely paraphrased. However, the transmission of this work in a manuscript organised according to the calendar of the church year suggests that, despite the more flexible treatment of the chant *cantus firmus*, this work too, may have functioned as liturgical polyphony.

Chapel music

Many of Isaac's motets set texts which have no specific liturgical function. These works may have been performed in the type of *ad libitum* devotional services, evening Salve services and endowed ceremonies, which regularly took place in the side chapels and altars of sacred institutions. Here again, specific contexts for the performance of these works may be identified through analysis of their transmission. The following paragraphs focus on manuscript sources of Isaac's motets which were compiled for or used by specific sacred institutions. In this way, specific contexts for the performance of Isaac's motets may be established.

The Vatican manuscript Rome Vat CS15, for example, was one of the earliest choirbooks copied for use by the Cappella Sistina.²⁹ Its repertory divides into three sections beginning with a collection of hymns, followed by a cycle of Magnificats and ending with a collection of motets. Many of these motets could not have functioned as liturgical polyphony. Isaac's motet *Salve virgo sanctissima*, for example, sets a devotional text which has no place within the

²⁹

Sherr, *Papal Music Manuscripts*, 58-67, Llorens, *Capellae Sixtinae*, 21-9

liturgy. Votive services in the Cappella Sistina, however, may have provided a context for the performance of works such as this.

The transmission of Isaac's motets reveals that contrafactum settings of occasional works may also have served as chapel music. Here, alternative, sacred texts replace the occasional, ceremonial texts and give greater scope for the work's performance. The funeral lament Quis dabit pacem, for example, is transmitted in two manuscripts, Leiden 1442 and Kassel 24, with the text "Illumina oculos meos", a compilation of psalm texts. The manuscript Leiden 1442 was probably copied in Amsterdam and was later used by St Peter's Church in Leiden.³⁰ The manuscript Kassel 24 transmits 106 motets on psalm texts and was copied for the court of Count Philip of Hesse. In these two institutions, contexts for the performance of Isaac's Lorenzo lament with its occasional text are difficult to imagine. However, with its alternative, contrafact text, the motet could have been performed in votive services in both institutions.

A similar case is Isaac's two-part motet Sancti spiritus assit which was composed for the Constance Reichstag in 1507 (see also below). It is transmitted in two manuscript sources. It appears with its ceremonial text in Basel F.IX.55 while in Dresden 1/D/505 the work is underlaid with not one but two texts: its occasional text and an alternative text, comprising a compilation of liturgical texts, which appears in fainter ink copied directly below the first by a different hand.³¹ Within the Annaberg church, where the manuscript was used, contexts for the

³⁰ Census Catalogue

³¹ Kindermann, 'Die doppelten und mehrfachen Textierungen'.

performance of the motet with its original text are difficult to surmise. With its alternative, sacred text, however, the motet could have functioned as chapel music.

Many of Isaac's motets are transmitted in manuscripts which transmit exclusively, or almost exclusively, motets and which were compiled for or used by specific sacred institutions, see for example the Cathedral choirbook Padua A.17, the Vatican manuscripts Rome VatCS 46 and Rome VatCS 24 and the manuscript Zwickau 31/32. The general absence of liturgical polyphony in these manuscripts - mass settings, magnificats, hymns etc - strongly suggests that the music in these sources functioned as devotional polyphony.

Here, too, we find contrafact settings of occasional works. The tenor motet Virgo prudentissima is transmitted in the manuscript Zwickau 31/32, a manuscript used at the Church of St Mary in Zwickau, with an alternative Protestant text "Christus Dei", as well as in the Vatican manuscript Rome VatCS 24 where the invocations to Emperor Maximilian I seen in the original text - "pro sacro Imperio" and "pro Caesare Maximiliano" - are replaced with the more general supplications "profide catholica" and "pro coetu Christicolarum".³² This last manuscript, together with Rome VatCS 46, which transmits Isaac's Angeli archangeli / Comme femme are two volumes of motets which form part of the "repository of motets" collected by the Sistine Chapel.³³ The repertory of Rome VatCS 24, which was copied in 1545, is in part somewhat retrospective,

³² Finscher, Die Musik, 2 348

³³ RMF, Vol. 21 p v

including as it does Isaac's Virgo prudentissima, while a broad cross-section of 15th century motet composition is transmitted in Rome VatCS 46 including works by Ockeghem, Compère, Josquin and Carpentras.

Instrumental-type motets

Evening salve services may also have provided contexts for the performance of some of Isaac's instrumental-type motets. In chapter two, I argue that the instrumental chant fantasias Salve regina II and Ave regina caelorum may have been performed in the type of instrumental salve services which Bruges minstrels gave in the church of St Donatian from 1483. Kristine Forney finds evidence for the participation of instrumentalists in Marian lof services held by the Confraternity of Our Lady at the Church of Our Lady in Antwerp as early as 1508.³⁴ These instrumentalists were stadspeellieden or city players who also gave public concerts. Both of Isaac's chant fantasias are transmitted in the Segovia codex, as are two instrumental-type motets, the three-voice works, Gratias refero tibi and Gentile spiritus. These last two works are unique to this source and survive with textual incipit only. Strohm argues that much of the secular repertory preserved in the Segovia codex may have been performed at minstrels' concerts.

It may be suggested that the bulk of this *Spielmusik* in the Segovia codex was written for public serenades and concerts of urban wind bands, i.e. for the city minstrels of towns such as Bruges and Bergen-op-Zoom.³⁵

³⁴ Forney, 'Music, Ritual and Patronage', 14.

³⁵ Strohm, Music in Late Medieval Bruges, 144.

To summarise briefly thus far: the stylistic distinction which Cummings observes between what he terms “patently liturgical works” on the one hand, and “motets” on the other, may also be reflected, to some degree, in Isaac’s work. Motets by Isaac which can be shown to have functioned as liturgical polyphony are without exception settings of chant. These are, in general, the least sophisticated of all of Isaac’s motets. They are short, straightforward works in which the clear presentation of the chant takes precedence. Those motets which can be shown to have functioned as chapel music, by contrast, include some of the most elaborate of Isaac’s motets: the six-voice tenor motet Virgo prudentissima, for example, with its expanded vocal textures, bi-partite structure and contrasting mensurations, or a work such as Salve regina II, with its intricate patterning and sequences. As Strohm acknowledges, there must have been some overlap between the two types of music. Many of Isaac’s motets, particularly those with well-travelled texts, would have been functionally flexible and may have been performed in many different contexts.

Musical propaganda

While Isaac's Staatsmotette may have functioned as chapel music in particular contexts, their primary function - their raison d'être - was musical propaganda. The Staatsmotette of the late 15th and early 16th centuries were usually composed for occasions of state. They celebrated political leaders and rulers and formed part of the ceremonial splendour that accompanied any state event, a musical reflection of the grandeur and magnificence of the figurehead they

honoured.³⁶ Isaac's contribution to the genre of the Staatsmotette forms a small but significant part of his motet oeuvre. They are perhaps the best known of his motets and of all his works have received most scholarly attention.

Isaac's ceremonial motets take many different forms. While the large-scale, many-voice, cantus firmus tenor motet is the motet form most particularly associated with works of state, and at least two of Isaac's occasional works employ this form, other of Isaac's Staatsmotette are freely-composed works or make only partial use of a cantus firmus. The two-part motet Quis dabit pacem, one of two works which lament the death of Lorenzo de' Medici (died 8 April 1492), is not based on any type of pre-existing material.³⁷ Its text sets verses from Seneca's tragedy Hercules Oetaeus and ends with additional lines by an unknown author. The absence of any structural cantus firmus gives additional prominence to the text which is declaimed in broad, repeated chords in all voices, interspersed with more contrapuntal passages where short phrases are passed in imitation between high and low pairs of voices. The work is transmitted in three Italian as well as two central European sources (Kassel 24 and Leiden 1442). In these last two manuscripts the motet is copied with the text "Illumina oculos melos". Strohm suggests that Isaac may have originally composed the motet in honour of Duke Sigismund of Tyrol.

... it is possible that Isaac's work had already been composed for ... perhaps Duke Sigismund of Tyrol (d.1496). The 'Medici arrangement' would then have been made, for pious reasons, by the compilers of the Florentine source; it may be significant that

³⁶ Dunning Die Staatsmotette; see also review of Dunning by L. Perkins.

³⁷ DTO 28:49-52; see also Dunning, Die Staatsmotette, 22-3; Finscher, Die Musik, 2:349-51; Just, 'Heinrich Isaacs Motetten', 5-6; Just, 'Studien', I 153-7, Osthoff, Theatergesang, 170-9; Strohm, The Rise, 637-8

the only German source of the motet has a sacred contrafactum text only.³⁸

An earlier biographical link between the Duke and Isaac, it was the Duke who rewarded Isaac as "componist" in September 1484, appears to support this theory.³⁹

Quis dabit capiti meo aquam?, perhaps the more famous of the two Lorenzo laments, employs an ostinato motto, the final phrase of the antiphon "Salva nos", which permeates the entire piece.⁴⁰ The work, which sets a text by the humanist poet Angelo Poliziano (1454-94), divides musically into four sections. Research has shown that Isaac borrows three of the four sections of the work from various sections of his Missa Salva nos, simply setting new text to old music.⁴¹ The third section only is newly composed. In the four-voice sections, the ostinato appears in superius, tenor and bassus voices (never in the altus) in different rhythmic augmentations (see for example in the first section: superius b1-8; bassus b9-12; superius b11-14; tenor b15-32). In the third section, the tenor voice falls symbolically silent as the ostinato is repeated on descending pitches, now with its proper text "et requiescamus in pace", in the bassus voice above which the motet text is sung by a florid pair of upper voices. The motet is transmitted in three Italian sources: the Florentine manuscripts Cortona/Paris, Florence 232 and

³⁸ Strohm The Rise, 638.

³⁹ ibid., 518-9; see also Staehelin, Die Messen II.19

⁴⁰ Editions of this work are published in DTO 28.45-8 and GreenbergA, 266-76; see also Just, 'Studien': I:161-5; Dunning, Die Staatstmotette, 20-2; Finscher, Die Musik, 2:349-51; Osthoff, Theatergesang, I 177-9; Strohm, The Rise, 636-7.

⁴¹ Atlas, 'A Note'; Staehelin, 'Communication'; Atlas, 'Communication'; Taruskin, 'Settling an Old Score'; Strohm, The Rise, 636-7

Rome Cappella Giulia (Cuis dabit) as well as in Petrucci's print of 1503 Motetti de passione ...B (RISM 1503¹).

Another work which Isaac may have composed in Florence is the three-part motet Prophetarum Maxime.⁴² This work is transmitted in several sources, including the Florentine manuscripts Cortona/Paris, Florence 232 and Florence 164-67. The exact occasion for which this motet was composed is unknown. It sets a compilation of sacred texts including texts for the feast of St John the Baptist, patron saint of Florence (24 June). Given the work's transmission, the texts it sets and Isaac's long association with Florence, it seems reasonable to assume that this motet was composed and performed as part of the annual celebrations of the city's patron saint.

Brief reference to the sequence melody "Sancti spiritus assit" is seen at the opening of the two-part motet of the same name.⁴³ The remainder of the work is freely composed. The motet was composed for the Constance Reichstag. References to Maximilian I are found in both the first and second sections of the text. Uncertainty as to whether the two sections of this motet should be considered together, as a two-part motet, or as two separate motets, stemmed originally from the transmission of the piece in the manuscript Basel F.IX.55 which, for a time, was the work's only known source.⁴⁴ In this manuscript, the

⁴² An edition of this work is included in Roberts, 'The Music of Ludwig Senfl', 2:406-16; see also Just, 'Studien', I:149-50; Just, 'Heinrich Isaacs Motetten', 5; Cummings, 'A Florentine Sacred Repertory', 280.

⁴³ DTO 28:53-58. An edition of the version of this work transmitted in Dresden I/D/505 is forthcoming in the series EDM. The work is discussed in Just, 'Studien', I:157-8 and Dunning, Die Staatsmotette, 37-9.

⁴⁴ The motet is presented as two separate motets in DTO.

two sections of the motet follow directly on from one another but the second section is not specifically designated "secunda pars". This manuscript also transmits a very corrupt reading of the motet text. It has now been ascertained that the motet is also transmitted in the manuscript Dresden MS 1/D/505.⁴⁵ Here again the two sections are copied directly one after the other. Martin Just points to the custos which appears at the end of the first section of the motet in the Dresden manuscript as confirmation that the two sections do indeed belong together.⁴⁶ In this source the work divides into four sections and is underlaid with both its ceremonial text (here in a much clearer version) as well as with a second, devotional text which comprises a compilation of liturgical texts and is copied directly underneath the first, in fainter ink and by a different hand.⁴⁷

The second section only of the three-voice motet Quid Retribuam tibi, Leo is based on a cantus firmus.⁴⁸ This slight work sets a compilation of psalm, antiphon and newly-composed texts.⁴⁹ The text of the first section gives thanks to Pope Leo X while the second section comprises a setting of the antiphon "Argentum et aurum". Isaac may have composed this motet c. 1514 as an offering of thanks to the Pope who had taken a personal interest in securing a pension for the composer's retirement in Florence.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ See Dunning, Die Staatsmotette, 38, fn. 3.

⁴⁶ ibid

⁴⁷ Kindermann, 'Die doppelten und mehrfachen Textierungen'. Picker incorrectly states that in the Dresden manuscript the second section of the motet has a contrafact text "Ave gratia plena", see A Guide, 93.

⁴⁸ Although this work divides musically into two sections which are marked with a change in mensuration from O to ♪, there is no formal division of any kind between the two sections.

⁴⁹ Rhau 9 76-8.

⁵⁰ Dunning, Die Staatsmotette, 47, n3; see also Staehelin, Die Messen, II.79-80.

The most ostentatious of Isaac's Staatsmotette, however, are the two large-scale, six-voice tenor motets Virgo prudentissima and Optime divino / Da pacem / Sacerdos et pontifex. Virgo prudentissima, the earlier of the two works, was probably composed c.1507 as Maximilian I laid plans for his coronation as Holy Roman Emperor.⁵¹ The motet may have been performed at the Constance Reichstag of 1507. The Marian antiphon "Virgo prudentissima" appears in the tenor voice and the main text of the motet, composed arguably by Maximilian's Kapellmeister Georg Slatkonja (1456-1522) to whom reference is made in the second section of the main text, paraphrases in the form of a large trope, the antiphon text.⁵²

Optime divino/ Da pacem/ Sacerdos et pontifex, also for six voices, is a slightly later work composed to celebrate the meeting in December 1513 of Cardinal Matthäus Lang, Maximilian's Chancellor, with the newly elected Pope Leo X.⁵³ In the main text (poet unknown) the singers of the Imperial chapel pay homage to the Pope. Isaac sets two plainchant cantus firmi, the introit for peace "Da pacem domine" and the antiphon "Sacerdos et pontifex". They are presented twice in each section of the motet in the two tenor voices, and their texts complement the main text of the work.

⁵¹ Editions of this work are published in DTO 32:208-19, Cuyler, The Emperor Maximilian 194-224; Davison, Virgo prudentissima; see also Cuyler, 'The Imperial Motet', 490-4; Dunning, Die Staatsmotette, 39-45; Finscher, Die Musik, 2:348; Just, 'Studien', I:88-95, Picker, 'The Habsburg Courts', 234-5.

⁵² See this study chapter five.

⁵³ CW 120:1-22, see also Dunning, Die Staatsmotette, 45-53, Just, 'Studien', I:95-6; Picker, 'The Habsburg Courts', 90, 238

The composition of many of Isaac's motets and the ceremonial works in particular may well have been the result of commissions. Several features support this assumption. Not least the newly-composed texts which were often written by leading contemporary poets. A work such as Quis dabit capiti meo aquam?, for example, combined the creative powers of not one, but two, of the most prominent artists of the day, a collaboration which could only have served to underline the magnificence and stature of the work's dedicatee. Similarly the ostentatious large-scale forms of works such as Virgo prudentissima and Optime divino / Da pacem / Sacerdos et pontifex, with their expanded vocal textures and multiple plainchant cantus firmi, also reflected the grandeur of their honoured figureheads. To what degree, therefore, did a commission influence the end-product? How far-reaching were the stipulations of a commissioned work such as Virgo prudentissima or Optime divino? Is it possible to identify other musical stipulations that a commission may have imposed?

Cantus firmus and function

As we have seen in chapter three, Isaac's peculiar habit of re-using cantus firmus models allows comparative analysis of cantus firmus treatment in different works and across different genres. The Marian antiphon "Virgo prudentissima" serves as cantus firmus in two of Isaac's motets, the six-voice tenor motet and the four-voice chant setting, as well as in the six-voice Missa Virgo prudentissima. In chapter three, versions of the chant set by Isaac in each of the three works were compared both with contemporary chant sources as well as with other contemporary polyphonic settings. It was shown that the melodic

version of chant which Isaac sets in the six-voice tenor motet and in the mass setting agrees most closely, but is not identical to, that transmitted in the chant source AP. The version of the chant set in the four-voice chant setting was distinct from all consulted chant sources.

The AP is a chant source believed to reflect the liturgical rite followed by the Habsburg court chapel. The similarities between the version of chant used by Isaac in the tenor motet and mass and that transmitted in AP strongly suggest that the chant version set by Isaac was one used by the Imperial chapel. As we have seen, the tenor motet Virgo prudentissima is intimately associated with Maximilian I and the Habsburg court. It seems reasonable to suppose that a work composed in honour of, and in all likelihood commissioned by, Maximilian I should set a chant version used by and familiar to his court. Indeed, I would argue that it may have been an implicit requirement of such a commission.

The likelihood that a motet such as Virgo prudentissima originated from a commission seems fairly certain. The work's occasional text which honours a specific patron supports this assumption. Of course, ceremonial motets such as this were not the only type of works to be commissioned. In a recent article, Barbara Haggh explores the relationship between the composition of sacred polyphony and endowed services.⁵⁴ She defines endowments as

... donations of land or money to a church or convent. Sometimes they were gifts with no associated requests, but usually they had a specific purpose. They established benefices, provided for the construction of chapels and altars, or paid for 'perpetual' services requested by the donor Other

⁵⁴ Haggh, 'The Meeting of Sacred Ritual'.

endowments added ceremony to existing rituals by providing for candles, music or additional distributions.⁵⁵

Endowments were made primarily for the benefit of the souls of their donors. They acted as a form of penance which served to shorten the donor's stay in purgatory.⁵⁶ Endowed services included obits, commemorative services for the dead, as well as Marian votive services. Haggh points to the many Marian masses and motets which have survived from the 14th and 15th centuries as evidence for the inclusion of polyphony in endowed Marian devotions. The types of work which may have originated from endowments are described by Reinhard Strohm.

The cantus firmus Mass, the votive antiphon and the antiphon-motet of the later fifteenth century, as the main genres of chapel music, usually originated from endowments or other special commissions by individual or collective patrons. It should therefore be possible to localize and date many more of these works than has hitherto been done, despite the usually very generic texts.⁵⁷

I suggest that the study of Isaac's motet Virgo prudentissima offers a possible means of identifying commissioned works. If we accept that the presence of a specific version of chant may be indicative of a commissioned work then it may indeed be possible to identify other such works despite their generic texts. On this premise, it follows that the composition of both Isaac's Missa Virgo prudentissima and also Senfl's four-voice chant setting, both of which set the same version of the antiphon melody as Isaac's tenor motet, may also have been commissioned. That Isaac's mass was composed for the Habsburg court is

⁵⁵ ibid., 60.

⁵⁶ Duffy, The Stripping of the Altars, 338-76; see also Le Goff, La Naisance du purgatoire.

⁵⁷ Strohm, The Rise, 283-4.

suggested by both its transmission as well as by archival evidence which documents a performance of the mass in Innsbruck in September 1503. Perhaps the work was commissioned and composed for this occasion? Senfl's chant setting, on the other hand, is transmitted uniquely in a manuscript compiled for the court chapel of Duke Wilhelm IV of Bavaria. However, it is well-known that Senfl took with him to his new position in the Bavarian court, compositions, manuscripts, even singers, from the former Imperial chapel. His antiphon setting Virgo prudentissima may have been amongst them, composed prior to his departure from the Habsburg court. Is it possible to identify other works which may also have been commissioned?

Spiritus sanctus in te: Ludwig Senfl

The recently identified attribution to Senfl of the six-voice antiphon setting Spiritus sanctus in te in the manuscript Regensburg C.120, makes the attribution of the work to Isaac in the printed source Thesauri musici tomus tertius (J Montanus & U Neuber: 1564) [RISM 1564³] (and therefore also in Munich 1536) most unlikely.⁵⁸ Notwithstanding, this motet serves as a good example of a work which sets a generic text and which may have originated from a commission.

This is a relatively short piece in one section.⁵⁹ Senfl divides the chant into eight short phrases: Spiritus sanctus / in te descendet / Maria / ne timeas / habebis / in utero / filium / dei, and each phrase of the chant is taken in turn and imitated

⁵⁸ See discussion of this piece in chapter one.

⁵⁹ An edition of the motet is included in Appendix I.

through the voices. The cantus firmus treatment in this work is quite distinct from that observed in the majority of Isaac's chant settings (but see Christus surrexit). In works by Isaac in which the cantus firmus is presented in imitative counterpoint in all the voices, the chant melody appears in slightly different rhythms, melodic shapes and phrase lengths in each voice. In Spiritus sanctus in te, by contrast, the antiphon melody is passed in exact imitation through the polyphonic texture. Each phrase of the cantus firmus is simply repeated through the counterpoint in different voices and occasionally at different pitch levels. Consequently a single, very precise version of the chant is presented in the polyphonic setting.

Moreover, there is little rhythmic or melodic embellishment of the chant. The antiphon melody is set in slightly longer note values than the surrounding counterpoint, predominantly in breves and semibreves. Much of the chant is set either syllabically or is clearly ligatured. The unadorned presentation of the chant and its uniform repetition through the voices make it visually and audibly instantly recognisable.

There is progressively less imitation of the cantus firmus as the piece proceeds. Indeed, only the opening phrase "Spiritus sanctus" is imitated through all six voices. The second phrase "in te descendet" is heard in four voices (vagus, tenor, sexta, altus) while towards the end of the piece the cantus firmus appears in one or two voices only (the phrase "habebis" appears in the tenor voice only and the phrase "filium" in tenor and vagus only). No one voice has a complete

statement of the chant and the counterpoint which accompanies the chant statement makes no reference to the cantus firmus.

The clear presentation of the antiphon melody facilitates comparison of the chant version set by Senfl with that transmitted in contemporary chant sources. The antiphon "Spiritus sanctus in te" is not included in the chant source AP and a significantly different version of the chant - both in text and melody - appears in Rome. The chant does, however, appear in the chant source Augs, as the first antiphon at first vespers in festo annunciationis BMV.⁶⁰ The version of the chant set by Senfl is identical to that in Augs. While the limited number of consulted chant sources must be kept in mind, I suggest that Senfl's setting of the antiphon "Spiritus sanctus in te" reflects the usage of Augsburg. The very precise version of the antiphon melody set in this work, together with the expanded vocal textures, a feature more commonly associated with the 'occasional form' of the tenor motet, points to the possibility that the work originated from an endowment or commission at Augsburg.

It is well-documented that after the death of Maximilian I in Wels on 12 January 1519, members of the Imperial chapel, Senfl included, travelled to Augsburg to await news concerning their future.⁶¹ On 12 September 1520, on order of Charles V, the Imperial chapel was disbanded. Senfl's presence in Augsburg is attested to not only by archival documents but also by the printed collection of motets, the Liber selectarum cantionum which was published in Augsburg in

⁶⁰ fol. LV.

⁶¹ Bente, Neue Wege, 289-308; see also Koczirz, 'Die Auflösung der Hofmusikkapelle'.

1520 and for which Senfl acted as editor and compiler. It seems certainly possible, therefore, that as one of the most prominent composers resident in Augsburg at this time, Senfl may have been requested to compose the antiphon setting Spiritus sanctus in te, perhaps by one of Augsburg's leading families, the Fugger family.⁶² Jakob and Ulrich Fugger had built and endowed their own burial chapel in the city's Annakirche, in which church the former Imperial chapel had frequently sung. A splendid new organ was built in the chapel in 1512 and in 1518 Paul Hofhaimer became the Fugger organist.⁶³ We can speculate that Senfl's antiphon setting was commissioned and performed as part of an endowed votive ceremony in the Fugger's private chapel.

The connection between Augsburg and this antiphon setting is supported by the work's transmission in the Pernner codex. As we have seen, Birkendorf believes that the second section of this manuscript was copied in Augsburg following the dissolution of the Imperial chapel. The antiphon setting, however, appears in the manuscript's first section, a feature which suggests that the connections between the Pernner codex and Augsburg may be more far-reaching than Birkendorf realises.

The connection between commissioned works and the identification of specific versions of chant, while attractive, is of course rather tenuous and future research will have to determine the success of its application. One work by Isaac which

⁶² For a discussion of the connections between Augsburg, the Fugger Family, the Pernner Codex and Senfl see Birkendorf, Der Codex Pernner, I 176-84

⁶³ Leaver, 'The Lutheran Reformation', 278

has proved frustratingly troublesome in this regard is, of course, the Choralis constantinus, the second volume of which is known to have been commissioned by the chapter of Constance Cathedral. Attempts by Theodore Karp to 'match' versions of chant set by Isaac in the Choralis constantinus with contemporary chant sources have not met with a great deal of success. In this context the miscellaneous nature of the collections which comprises volumes I and III of the Choralis constantinus should be noted along with the absence of chant sources from Constance in Karp's study.⁶⁴ Moreover, the scale of a commission such as the Choralis constantinus in comparison with a work such as either Isaac's Virgo prudentissima (a6) or Senfl's Spiritus sanctus in te should also be taken into account. The practicalities of setting a specific version of an antiphon melody such as "Virgo prudentissima" or "Spiritus sanctus in te" (both of which are rather short) in contrast to setting chant for the entire church year, must be significant.

In conclusion, I believe it is safe to assume that both Isaac's tenor motet and mass set a version of the Marian antiphon "Virgo prudentissima" that was familiar to the Habsburg chapel and that Senfl's antiphon setting Spiritus sanctus in te sets a version of the chant melody used in Augsburg. How far the implications of these arguments reach remains to be seen.

⁶⁴

Karp, 'Some Chant Models'

